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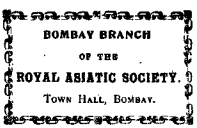

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A HISTORY OF PAINTING

XVI

HOLBEIN

1497–1543

GERMAN SCHOOL OF AUGSBURG

"CHRISTINA, DUCHESS OF MILAN"

(National Gallery)

Christina, Princess of Denmark (1521–1590), at the age of thirteen married Francesco, Duke of Milan, and in 1535 was left a widow. On the death of Jane Seymour in October 1537, the young widow seems to have been regarded as a suitable bride for Henry VIII., as Holbein, who was t[he] [E]nglish Court-painter, made a sketch of her in Brussels on March 12, 1[538]. [Th]ree years later she married Francis, Duke of Lorraine, who died in [1545].

The picture bears the inscri[ption] which [is] [on] the [back] [of] [the] [panel]; [the] [in]scription, which appears to [be] [of] [the] [same] [date] as the picture, reads:

"Christina daughter to
Christierne K. of Deñark Duches
of Lorrayne and hered.
Dutches of Milan."

Painted in oil on three vertical panels. 5 ft. 10 in. h. × 2 ft. 8 in. w. (1·778 × 0·813). Purchased by the National Gallery in June 1909 for £72,000.

A HISTORY OF PAINTING

BY HALDANE MACFALL

WITH A PREFACE BY

FRANK BRANGWYN

IN EIGHT VOLUMES. ILLUSTRATED WITH TWO HUNDRED PLATES IN COLOUR

1491.

63789

VOL. IV

THE RENAISSANCE IN THE NORTH; AND THE FLEMISH GENIUS

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FOREWORD

Thus far we have followed the birth and fruition of the Renaissance in Italy, and the mightier fulfilment of a fuller art in later Italy and in Spain. I would now lead the footsteps of the student from the achievement in painting of the South to the beginnings of the mighty achievement of the North.

And just as Spain and the Tenebrosi increased the artistic utterance of painting of which the Italian Renaissance had no conception, so we shall see the Renaissance in the Low Countries and along the Rhine develop an art that was to come to prodigious increase in modern times; for, be it remembered always that Modern Art employs a wide gamut and a huge instrument of which even Velazquez and Rembrandt could not, or did not, touch the full music.

The best authority upon the early Netherlandish painters is Mr. Weale—in my opinion he is without rival as a guide to the history of the early Netherlandish schools. Dr. Bode is a searching authority on the Dutch and Flemish and German achievement as a whole, and may be read in translations. The native authorities, being outside the reach of the English-speaking, need not be mentioned, but their profound research is leading to discoveries every year. At the same time, it is necessary to caution the student of art that even the greatest of the experts are essentially men who are expert on the research side of art rather than authorities on art itself—a very different thing. Their opinions are as questionable on the artistic *value of a work of art as they are valuable on the antiquarian side; just*

FOREWORD

as the greatest philosophers have always misunderstood the whole function of art from the Greeks to Herbert Spencer.

There is a publication that I would advise every student of the history of painting to possess: Mr. Gerald Parker Smith has published the Dowdeswell Chart *of the Netherlandish, Spanish, German, French and English Masters of Painting in a large pedigree form—as he is also about to publish an Italian Chart. The two Winchester Charts are also useful.*

The best authority in English on early German painting is the Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, which, re-written into simpler form and purer English, and issued with full illustrations, would be of wide service to the student. Of the books on Dürer and Holbein, Professor Knackfuss has written two, which are translated by Mr. Campbell Dodgson. Mr. Davies's volume on Holbein is also of great aid.

For the great Flemish period, Mr. Dillon's large volume on Rubens is excellent, the large number of illustrations greatly increasing its value. Here again the Knackfuss volume is within easy reach, as in the case of Van Dyck, both translated by Madame Richter.

The latest edition of Kugler on the whole of this period is an enormous improvement on all old issues, which are practically worthless.

HALDANE MACFALL.

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Naarden
The Old Rhine
Zutfen
The Hague
Leyden
Utrecht
Delft
Arnhem
Rhine
Rotterdam
Munster
The Maas
Dortrecht
The Waal
Nymegen
The Maas
Kleve
ZEELAND
Walcheren
NORTH
Breda
B. RABANT
Bergen op Zoom
Tilburg
Dortmund
Verlo
Sluys
Ostend
Bruges
Antwerp
Dusseldorf
Dunkirk
Ghent
Scheldt
Mechlin
Calais
Alost
Louvain
Cologne
Courtrai
Brussels
Maestricht
The Schelde
Aix la Chapelle
Bonn
Tirlemont
Verviers
Lille
Tournai
HAINAULT
Liege
Spa
Namur
Charleroi
Mons
Coblentz
Ems
Arras
Valenciennes
Dinant
Cambray
Bouillon
St Quentin
Amiens
Mezieres
Arlon
Treves
Sedan
Reims
Verdun
Metz
Paris
Chalons
HALDANE
MACFALL

Konigsberg
Danzig
PRUSSIA
Lubeck
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Bremen
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Berlin
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WESTPHALIA
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Soest
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Dusseldorf
Cassel
Gottingen
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Leipzig
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FLANDERS
Cologne
Aix la Chapelle
Bonn
Verviers
Dresden
Altenburg
Weimar
Freiburg
Breslau
Coblence
Plauen
Frankfort
Wiesbaden
Coburg
the Main
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Bayreuth
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Worms
Wurtsburg
Pilsen
Mannheim
FRANCONIA
Heidelberg
Nuremberg
Speyer
LORRAINE
Metz
Hailbronn
Carlsruhe
Ratisbon
Nancy
Stuttgard
Basles
Brunn
GERMANY
Strassburg
ALSACE
the Rhine
Tubingen
Ulm
Augsburg
the Danube
Vienna
Colmar
Munick
Freiburg
SWABIA
AUSTRIA
Mulhausen
Lake of Constance
Saltzburg
Basle
SWITZERLAND
HALDANE
MAP ALL

A HISTORY OF PAINTING

INTRODUCTION

THE Netherlandish schools of painting, or rather the painters of the Rhine, are the forefathers of the Flemish, Dutch, German, French, and English achievement—in them is rooted the significance of the Northern art. This Netherlandish endeavour remained exquisitely pure for a long time—untainted by alien vision until it had set to virile purpose. The Italian intention entered into it before it came to its full blossoming; but just in proportion as it rejected the Italian and clove to the Netherlandish, so exactly did it reach to its mightiest fulfilment.

The term Flemish for the Primitives is so stupid that I had intended wholly to reject it; but it is so widely used that it is almost impossible. As much as I could do so, I have employed Netherlandish in its stead.

8 o o

The Rhine, whether from its beginnings in the mountains to its several mouths that pour its waters into the sea, knew no art of painting before the coming of Christianity to disperse the ancient gods. Charlemagne, with the splendours of a vast empire upon him, essayed to rival, as far as he understood the splendour of antique days, the culture of antiquity; and the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle was forthwith embellished with mosaics of *Christ Enthroned*, and his palace with wall-paintings of the life that he had lived as conqueror, statesman, and approver of learning;

the Castle of Upper Ingelheim upon the Rhine was wrought with frescoes from the Scriptures and from history, glorifying great rulers of the past, ending with the victories of Charlemagne and of his father Pepin. These have vanished, but the record of them remains in miniatures. Everywhere was the gaudy convention of Byzantinism. And this Byzantinism was the whole aim of the monkish artists from 800 to the middle eleven-hundreds, the whole craft of painting being in the hands of the Church, as indeed was all culture whatsoever. In all these illustrated *Evangeliaria* and *Bibles*, the rich employment of gold and silver and purple and gorgeous colouring, as well as the slight pen-drawings, yield a rude and barbaric effect akin to Byzantinism. France and Germany were separated amongst the grandchildren of Charlemagne, and rapidly began to form styles of their own. The famed *Bibles of Charles the Bold* at the Louvre and at Munich, and the miniatures at the Convent of St. Gallen and the Cathedral of Treves are the great types of this early artistic endeavour of the Germanic peoples.

Germany knew great prosperity under her Saxon and first two Frankish emperors, from 919 to 1066; under which the painted miniature grew to considerable splendour, the bishops being worthy workers in this realm—the Germans showing a love of green which vies with the French artists' love of blue—the Bavarians showing brilliant gifts at this period.

From about 1050 to 1150, troublous times dwarfed artistic endeavour; but the next hundred years, from 1150 to 1250, saw a marked development in all the arts throughout Germany and the Netherlands.

OF PAINTING

THE ROMANESQUE CENTURY
1150 – 1250

From the middle eleven-hundreds to the middle twelve-hundreds, the practice of the arts passed from the monks to the artists outside the monastery walls. The legends of Charlemagne, of King Arthur and his knights, and of the Niebelungen, created a wide literature and as wide endeavour in painting. Knights in armour, the pomp and panoply of war, and the gallantries took form; and the native humour of the race uttered itself in grotesques and drolleries, as the Romanesque sculpture and the whimsicalities of the miniatures reveal. The months and their attributes brought the artists to the treatment of the daily life about them; and animals and the chase burst into the studio, and the horn of the hunter and the flying of the hawk took shape in pictures. At once the Byzantine stiffness gave way to the human action of figures arrayed in the costume of the day. The achievement of this age is chiefly in the miniatures of Manuscripts.

The *Wallerstein Psalter* shows the *Sower* in March, the *Vintage* with its gathering, treading, and pressing in September, the tapping of beer in November, and the like; and the famed *Hortus Deliciarum* gives scenes from the life of the day, with its costumes and fashions.

The rare wall-paintings of this day that come down to us, prove that the work of the time was in coarse outline with slight lights and shadows, much akin to the miniatures on a larger scale, as shown in the ceiling-paintings of the *Triumph of Faith* at Brouweiler Monastery hard by Cologne, the *Root of Jesse* on the wooden roof of St. Michael's Church at Hildesheim, and the *paintings in the choir* of the Cathedral at Brunswick.

Easel pictures are very rare in this Romanesque style. Paintings on glass we may see in the south window of the nave of Augsburg Cathedral; and tapestries of the year 1200 hang in the Abbey Church of Quedlingburg.

It is clear from the poem of *Parzival*, written about 1200 by Wolfram of Eschenbach, that Cologne and Maestricht were the great centres of Germanic art in those days: "No painter of Cologne or Mästricht could have painted him more comely than as he sat upon his horse."

THE GOTHIC ART OF THE MIDDLE AGES
1250 – 1400

Gothic architecture, with its wide window-spaces and elaborately fretted walls, left little space for frescoes; and the high and lofty vaultings of the ceilings forbade the subject-picture for the German and Netherlandish designers, and checked the advance of painting thereby. It thrust painting towards the decoration of the altarpiece alone, which was further limited along the Rhine owing to the centre of the altarpiece being given to sculpture. But it was to lead to the freedom of the painter from architectural servitude, for he developed a free art of painting on panel or stretched linen that was to have wide consequence; whilst the stained-glass windows, that filled the great fretted windows of the Gothic churches that were rising in the land, taught the artists glowing colour.

Of the first hundred years of this Gothic period, from 1250 to 1350, the chief interest lies in the tendency towards originality, even though rudeness of design went hand-in-hand with it. The draperies are still stiff and their folds in parallel lines, the attitudes stilted, the oval

heads persist, and the large eyes, the narrow noses, and the large mouths drooping at the corners; caricature and the grotesque increase, and colours are employed to gaudiness. Vermilion and a raucous blue dominate, the black outlines and red cheeks giving the figure an appearance that is very characteristic.

Midway through the hundred years—about 1300—the colour becomes more tender, the faces lose their long oval, and a marked increase of draughtsmanship follows. The backgrounds are chiefly gold.

From 1250, owing to the disturbed state of Germany and the increase of stability of the Netherlands, the Low Countries begin to lead the way in all artistic endeavour. The only portable paintings of this time that are known are in Belgium, on the reliquary of St. Ottilia. The old Biloque Hospital at Ghent contains colossal figures in wall-paintings.

Northern and Southern German art was now influenced by the Netherlandish, but was more crude. The choir of Cologne Cathedral holds a number of wall-paintings. Bohemian art was in advance of the German during the whole of this period.

A markedly pictorial sense had begun to give signs about 1300; by 1350 it had strongly developed. Artists were rejecting the hard outline for a softer painted edge; light and shade begin to melt into each other; and harmonies of tone take the place of crude flat colours, though vermilion and raucous blue die hard. But the effort towards Nature did not go hand-in-hand with increase of draughtsmanship, and the head was still a conventional affair, though a distinct effort to create a more pleasing type is seen everywhere. The nude remained a gaunt business: gold grounds began to give way to buildings,

trees, and hills—whilst household utensils appeared. The year 1380 sees landscape backgrounds.

JOHN OF BRUGES

In 1371 JOHN OF BRUGES, painter to Charles v, King of France, painted the miniature decorations of the Vulgate, now at the Westrenen Museum at the Hague. Here we have at last definite portraits of the King and of the presenter of the Bible. The action of the figures, the draperies, and the forms are all taken direct from Nature.

The travels of Marco Polo show the same advance, being painted between 1384 and 1405 for Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Flemish painters rapidly increase in power, as shown in the *Prayer-Book of Margaret of Bavaria*, wife of John Sans Peur of Burgundy, at the British Museum (1407); and in another *Prayer-Book* and the *Poems of Christina of Pisa* in the same Museum. Unfortunately, the names of the artists are lost; the princes to whom they were dedicated, Louis de Male, last Count of Flanders, Philip the Hardy and John Sans Peur, the first Dukes of Valois, being remembered instead. But, fortunately, the names of the artists who were painters to these great encouragers of art, who made Belgium the seat of artistic endeavour, are preserved, as taking service with the Counts of Flanders and Dukes of Burgundy. JEAN VAN DER ASSELT was painter to Louis de Male at Ghent, 1364 to 1380, and afterwards to Philip the Hardy in 1386. He it was who wrought in 1373 the wall-paintings in the chapel of Louis de Male at Notre Dame of Courtrai, in which mutilated designs were once the portraits of the princes of the House of Flanders, which have been destroyed, the heraldic designs alone remaining to show the personages of the torsos. The work is not of

high achievement. JEAN DE BEAUMEZ was "painter and valet" to Philip from 1377 to 1395. JEAN MALWEL was "painter and valet" to Philip and to Jean Sans Peur from 1397 to 1415. MELCHIOR BROEDERLAM OF YPRES was "painter and valet" to Philip the Hardy from 1382 to 1400. HENRI BELLECHOSE DE BRABANT was "painter and valet" to Jean Sans Peur in 1415. But wall-painting, strangely enough, remained flat and in a crude state in Belgium up to 1400; and illuminating was the standard work. BROEDERLAM was the painter of the wings of the altar-table in the Museum at Dijon.

In BOHEMIA art was making marked progress during the years of the Emperor Charles IV (1348 to 1378), who made his Court at Prague and employed THEODORICH OF PRAGUE, NICOLAUS WURMSER OF STRASBURG, and KUNZ, chiefly upon his favourite castle of Karlstein near Prague, in which portraiture advances by considerable strides. The Emperor also employed at Karlstein an Italian, TOMMASO DA MODENA.

Charles IV, brought up at the French Court, was closely related to the royal house of France; his sister Bona was mother to the three princes, Jean de Berri, Louis of Anjou, and Philippe le Hardi, who were all mighty patrons of art in the Flemish and French endeavour.

In Germany, the city of COLOGNE led the artistic endeavour of the late thirteen-hundreds. At Cologne there burst forth a school of religious painting, deeply rooted in the Mysticism that was the very soul of the old princely cathedral city of the Rhine, called the "Rome of the North," where the cathedral was raising its vast height to the heavens. Anatomy was weak; but the religious

sense of repose, of bliss, and of purity is well rendered. The treatment of the flesh and the harmonies of colouring show advance. Out of the craftsmen of this age emerges one, the chief of these painters, and most famed, MEISTER WILHELM. Wilhelm of Herle was painting in Cologne from 1358 to 1372; he died in 1378.

Closely akin to the art of Cologne in the late thirteen-hundreds is that of Westphalia. The city of Nuremburg ranks next to Prague and Cologne in the quality of its artistry, and its artists showed greater power in the modelling of the human figure, and in colour. In Swabia also was considerable artistic effort.

Thus it will be seen that the Gothic vision had created the great realistic endeavour of the North. The next century of the fourteen-hundreds was to create a mighty and new adventure. About 1440 the printing-press was to be set up; in 1453 the Turk was to overwhelm Constantinople—and the fall of Constantinople sent the Greek scholars scattering over Europe. The New Learning was to spread over the land, and the printing-press was to take it into the homes of the people. A new waterway was to be sought to the Indies—and a continent to be discovered in the voyaging. Friar Martin was to nail his Ninety-five Theses to the door of the church of Wittenberg, and be known throughout the ages thereafter as Luther. To the Germanic peoples the revelation was to bring lordship over the world in the years to come. The monk was to teach, within his narrow vision, the New Learning, until at last he flinched from it, and in fear lost the splendour of it, so that they who would carry the flame had to rid themselves of him.

EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

John of Bruges
Jean de Beaumez
Jean Malwel
Melchior Broederlam
Henri Bellechose de Brabant.

Robert Campin 1365-75 – 1444

Hubert van Eyck 1366? – 1426

Jan van Eyck 1390? – 1441

Jacques Daret

Rogier van der Weyden 1399 – 1464

Petrus Christus 1410 – 1473

Gerard of St. John of Haarlem

Hieronymus Bosch 1462?–1516

Dirk Bouts 1400? – 1475

Memlinc 1430 – 1494

Hugo van der Goes 1435?–1482

Justus of Ghent 1410–14..?

Quentin Matsys 1466 – 1530

Gerard David 1460? – 1523

THE ITALIANISERS

Engelbrechtsen 1468 – 1533

Marinus van Roymerswaele 1497? – 1567

Patenir 1490? – 1524

Herri Met de Bles 1480? – 1650

Isenbrandt 14..? – 1551

Cornelis 14..?–1532 Prevost Benson

Gossaert of Mabuse 1470 – 1533

Van Orley 1491?–1542

Peeter Pourbus 1510?–1584

Mostaert, 1470?–1556 Peter Claessens

Lucas van Leyden 1494 – 1533

Oostsamen 14..?– 1533

Scorel of Haarlem 1495 – 1562

Peter Coxis Koeck 1499 – 1592

Martin van Veen 1498 – 1574

Lambert Lombard 1506 – 1566

Antony More 1512?–1578?

Frans Floris 1516?–1570

Aertszen "Lang Pier" 1507?–1575

Peeter Brueghel "Peasant Brueghel" 1525–30 – 1569

Hell Velvet Brueghel 1564 – 1638

Brueghel 1568 – 1625

Hemessen 1504?– 1566

Brackelaer 1530 – 1573?

Valkenborch 1530? – 1622

Bril 1556 – 1626

Vroom 1566 – 1640

Joos van Cleeve 1520?–1556

Van Mander 1548? – 1608

Otho van Veen, "Vaenius" 1558 – 1629

Cornelis Cornelissen 1562–1638 (of Haarlem)

Franz Pietersz de Grebber 1570 – 1649

Van Balen 1575 – 1632

Bloemart 1564 – 1651

Lastmann 1583 – 1633

Mierevelt of Delft 1567 – 1641

Frans Pourbus the Younger 1569 – 1622

Moreelse 1571 – 1638

Mytens 1586–163.?

The end of the fifteen-hundreds saw the Netherlandish art separating into Flemish and Dutch.

A HISTORY OF PAINTING

CHAPTER I

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS DOWN THE RHINE

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS DOWN THE RHINE

THE term Flemish is widely employed to label the art of the Netherlands; but Netherlandish is a better phrase. Thus far, then, we have followed the early endeavour of the Germanic peoples and the Flemish to utter the impressions of life through colour when 1400 struck. There were now to arise two schools of painting, the one in the valley of the Meuse, the other in the valley of the Scheldt, which were to have far-reaching effects upon the art of the world; for the valley of the Meuse was to bring forth the brothers Van Eyck, and the valley of the Scheldt to yield the rival genius of Rogier de la Pasture, more famous as Rogier van der Weyden.

The Netherlandish artists had been striving, as we have seen, during the thirteen-hundreds, to utter the spirit of the Northern races in terms of colour. They were now to discover the essential significance of art, as by a miracle, in their forthright endeavour to express Nature by every faculty that painting could yield them. In order to render the reality of life, they bent outline, colour, light, form, and the whole craft of art to give forth Nature as they felt her moods. Their aim was realism, unfettered by any antique tradition of beauty or the ideal. They took the quaint surroundings of their home life, the stiff interiors, the furniture,

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

the utensils of their everyday use, and with them they wrought the surroundings of their fellows as they saw them. They were pure Goths; to them character, the individual, was all-important. To them the Church legends were but an excuse to paint life. They were not surrounded by the buildings and monuments of an antique civilisation. They had no temptation to ape Greece or ancient Rome. They had to create art for themselves from the very beginning.

The Italian genius of the Renaissance had concerned itself largely in the classic aim of creating the type, smoothing out the differences of character in an aim of Beauty and the Ideal. This type-making, inherent in the classic aim throughout all art, makes for the destruction of Character; must indeed, in its very essence, make for the destruction of character—being a splendid annulling of the *differences* that create character, exactly those differences which give their charm to the individual. Yet this setting aside of character, so far from being a fault, must be accepted as an essential in creating the type. In Michelangelo, the giant of the Italian Renaissance, we find a stern intention always to create great types.

It was to them of the Gothic blood, to the peoples whose whole art and glory are deep-rooted in character, who give the bays to character above all other human attributes, however rugged the body wherein that character flames; it was to them who founded their genius on the individual as against the classic ideal that seeks beauty alone, through perfection of type; it was to the North, and to Spain, her art so akin to the art of the North through her Visigoth blood, that Character and Realism yielded so much deeper and more profound an artistic utterance in painting and literature and music than Italy ever knew. The rude, rugged North! So it came that it was in the North,

and Spain with the North, that portraiture reached to its supreme achievement. For, always in the art of the North, you will see this basic adoration of character—the tribute to the *difference* of individuals. Hence the Northern love of Liberty that would not grind all men to a pattern. Her art, her religion, her whole state are founded upon character, grew in it, blossomed upon it.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS DOWN THE RHINE

Watch the exquisite agonies of the pencil of the North —see how the eager eye of the North guides the inquisitive brush—cunningly searching out each little difference of each different feature in everything upon which it looks! With what fastidious care, even when the brush sweeps with forthright mastery over the canvas, the hand and eye follow each form that pronounces Character—whether of a Dutch bottle, an apple, the cattle in the fields, the mood of the hour, or the distinction of men.

And as with all the Northern blood, in its many diffusions, the setting of character upon the altars of its living faith modified the very creeds of the North, and made the same God differ, as differ black and white and scarlet and gold, from the God of the South; so differed the art of the North from the art of Italy and of Greece.

It was to the Flemish and Dutch genius, concerned with the home life, whether of the rich or the poor, rather than with the elaborate splendour of Courts or the gospels interpreted in the spirit of Courts, that we owe the real beginnings of the artist's interest in the realities of life.

On surveying closely the early Netherlandish art, we at once come foul of the phrase "Flemish." The Netherlandish art was the achievement of Dutch, Flemish, and so-called French endeavour—if we can call France what was at that time wholly out of France, yet the French Court supported the art.

A HISTORY

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

In 1361, by the death of the last Duke, Philippe de Rouvre, the duchy of Burgundy went to Jean le Bon, King of France, who gave Burgundy to his fourth son, Philippe le Hardi; and Philippe le Hardi married Marguerite the heiress of the Counts of Flanders—thenceforth Flanders and Burgundy become one in 1383. The Burgundian princes of the House of Valois were Jean sans Peur, 1404-1419; Philippe le Bon, 1419 to 1467; Charles le Téméraire, 1467 to 1477. And during these years Burgundy, Flanders, and France were very closely related, thereby causing considerable confusion in our geography of artists. Flemish artists came to work at the Burgundian Court at Dijon, which therefore remains to all purposes a Netherlandish school—just as the Netherlandish school itself had arisen out of French Gothic.

From the end of the thirteen-hundreds, from the hour that the lands just south of the Rhine—Flanders—came under the sceptre of the Dukes of Burgundy, who warmed with the sun of their approval the art of their people, so that it burst into bud and leaf at Bruges and Ghent under the tillage of the VAN EYCKS (the brothers who developed the use of oil-colours in such fashion as to employ pigments the one on the other whilst still wet upon the panel, melting the tones together, and thereby giving us the "easel picture" for the home), we shall find the sanity of the North freed from the falsity that art is beauty, or in any way solely concerned with beauty, but the rather with the statement of the sensations of life to the eyes, felt through the sense of colour. At once, even so early as this "primitive" searching for expression in art, the achievement of the North concerned itself with Character.

The year of 1383 saw the Dukes of Burgundy become

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS DOWN THE RHINE

also lords of Flanders—of that stretch of land that we now call Belgium—and thenceforth they thrust their dominion over the adjacent country. To their splendid Court, made more magnificent by the ever-increasing wealth of the people, the culture of the reigning house called the artists, and gave an impetus to the growing utterance of the art of painting, bringing forth a wide development which created the superb achievement of the fourteen-hundreds that was only stilled by the Spanish wars of the fifteen-hundreds.

In that year of 1383 HUBERT VAN EYCK was on the edge of manhood.

Even before the House of Burgundy came to rule over the land, Bruges had reached to wide prosperity. Through four centuries, from a small outpost against the Northern Vikings, her strenuous history had seen her grow to be one of the three great cities of the North, under her Flemish Counts. The centre of the traffic in wool, she was the mart of the Hanseatic League. Her warrior and merchant people had come to great wealth.

Under the able lordship of the Dukes of Burgundy, Flanders reached to the topmost height of prosperity. Bruges was become the great port of the North, the water-gate to wealth. In her harbours rode the shipping of the world. He who walks to-day in the streets of the dead city can scarce realise that her silent thoroughfares and many waterways are haunted by the ghosts of a many-tongued splendour, when her wharves once knew the noisy commerce of the age; that she once bedecked herself in magnificence, and knew mighty pageants that rivalled the splendours of Venice and Florence. Ghent knew a wide prosperity. In both cities arose painters who were to have prodigious influence on the coming achievement of Flanders. The arrogant and unscrupulous Dukes of Burgundy kept

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

the warlike citizens in good humour with elaborate pageants, and artists were needed for these pageants.

What brought forth the genius of Hubert van Eyck it is now difficult to trace. Whether he had some schooling in Cologne, or not, Cologne would not account for the sudden revelation of the genius of the brothers Van Eyck. Hubert van Eyck bursts upon the world, the "father of northern painting," and cannot be explained. The Van Eycks hailed from the valley of the Meuse, from Maaseyck, hard by Maastricht, which lies half-way from Brussels to Cologne—that Maastricht that is coupled with Cologne by old Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his poem of "Parsival," as one of the two great cities of artists. The valley of the Meuse bred them, but the valley of the Scheldt by the sea-mouths of the Rhine was to call them to their great achievement—for the rich cities of the Scheldt were to be the battle-ground of the artistic strife of Flanders, and to draw all the Flemish genius thereto to its fulfilment.

But even as the Van Eycks came like bolt from the blue, so came with them a new instrument for the utterance of colour, the employment of oils for mixing paints, that was to widen the gamut of art's expression. Theophilus the Monk had written upon it, so that its use, in crude fashion, had already been known. Oil had been used as a crude affair, for painting stone statues and the like carvings; but the panel-picture had been painted with the egg or size in what is known as *tempera*, the which was thereafter varnished. Now, *tempera*, though an exquisite medium for the miniature, dries so rapidly that the brush-strokes of the colours do not blend and mix. The Van Eycks mixed an oil and a varnish, wrought their colours with it, and gave oil-painting to the world. For they now no longer allowed each colour to dry before the

next was painted over it, but wrought the mixed colours together whilst wet upon the panel, and blurred the one into the other. Flatness vanished, the rounded form and depth were expressed by the rich and fusing brushwork. And straightway painting arose to a mighty craft. In a hundred years the Van Eycks conquered Germany and Italy, and laid the foundations of the splendour of Spain and Holland.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS DOWN THE RHINE

1400

CHAPTER II

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE BURSTS INTO SONG IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GHENT

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

The so-called School of Flanders Proper, with its seats at Bruges and Ghent, had for its leaders

HUBERT VAN EYCK		JAN VAN EYCK
1366? –	1426	1390? – 1441

That the brothers Van Eyck should have suddenly dawned upon the world, with so advanced and astounding an art as is theirs, seems in the nature of a miracle; but we must remember that the iconoclastic frenzy that ravaged the Low Countries in the Protestant Puritanism of the fifteen-hundreds destroyed works of art in the same way, or in more complete fashion, as the Puritanical outbursts in Catholic Italy and elsewhere under Savonarola. Spain carried off much treasure, and France during the Revolution finished the tangle.

Before the Van Eycks came, the sculpture shows an astounding realism; and it is likely enough that the works of masters in painting of a higher order than such as we have seen in the thirteen-hundreds bridged the way for the development of the Van Eycks. Not only was this sculpture by such masters as Claes Sluter realistic, but its realism was increased by being coloured. The brothers Van Eyck were natives of Maaseyck, whose fellow-countrymen were largely employed at the Court of France from 1400 to 1410 as miniaturists, and some of these, as Pol of Limburg,

painted miniatures in the *Prayer-book of the Duke of Berri* (1409), and in a *Josephus* (1410), which for originality and realism and form are forerunners of the art of the Van Eycks.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE BURSTS INTO SONG IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GHENT

HUBERT VAN EYCK, "father of Flemish painting," was long held to have been born in 1366, and his brother, JAN VAN EYCK, some years thereafter; and both brothers were said to have settled at Ghent in 1410. All these dates are questionable. The Van Eycks came from Maas Eyck or Maaseyck, by Maastricht, in the valley of the Meuse, a valley that was the cradle of much artistic genius. Hubert, born probably about 1370, came to Ghent about 1418, and was therefore close on his fiftieth year when he dawned upon the larger world of recognition. He is said to have wandered into Italy, but 'tis a riddle unravelled. He is even said to have joined a crusade to Jerusalem! The brothers were Court-painters to Philip of Charolais, heir-apparent to the Duchy of Burgundy, who, with his wife, Michelle de France, dwelt at Ghent from 1418 to 1421. That the brothers Van Eyck were only registered on the corporation of St. Luke in 1421 does not prove that they only went to Ghent in 1421, since painters attached to a prince were free of the guild of their craft; and only on the death of the Countess Michelle were they registered as masters, without fee.

After the Countess's death, Hubert van Eyck remained at Ghent, and the municipality was ordering work from him in 1424; he there set to work on his great altarpiece of *The Adoration of the Lamb* for Jodocus Vydts, which he was not to finish, for, having sketched the subjects, and completed the more important panels, he died at Ghent on the 18th of September 1426, and was buried in the chapel that he was decorating when death took him. Meantime

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

Jan van Eyck had attached himself to the Court. However, to return to Hubert van Eyck.

The realistic intention of his Flemish forerunners was the essence of the aim of Hubert van Eyck, and he carried the utterance of it to a marvellous advance in its handling. In his design we still have the dominance of the architectural idea over his composition, and he subordinated the free dramatic power of painting as an independent art to it; but his brush travels with greater breadth, and he deliberately paints textures. The nude by Jan van Eyck is no longer a mere convention. But, above all, he discovered the depth, the musical power, the glow and the harmonies of colour. He and his brother developed and practically created the rich and transparent quality of colour that results from the use of oil as a medium—heretofore employed in not wholly satisfactory fashion. With the Van Eycks begins that problem of "brushing," the artistic effect produced by the touch of the brush-mark, which developed the handling of paint.

Of Hubert van Eyck's work, the painting beyond challenge is the famous great altarpiece of *The Adoration of the Lamb* in the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent, painted for Jodocus Vydts and his wife, Elizabeth Burlunt, for their memorial chapel. Unfortunately the iconoclasts plundered St. Bavon amongst their other acts of fanatic sacrilege; and two days before they assailed the place, on the 19th of August, the part containing the Mystic Lamb was hidden away in one of the towers, and the great altarpiece is now separated, part being at Ghent, part at Brussels, and part in Berlin.

At St. Bavon in Ghent the central parts of the altarpiece still stand, the missing shutters or "wings" being replaced by good copies made in the fifteen-hundreds. The

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE BURSTS INTO SONG IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GHENT

Adam and *Eve* are nudes by Jan van Eyck, painted about the same time that Masaccio was painting his famous *Adam and Eve* in the Brancacci chapel at Florence. They aim at frank and downright realism. Thus the Flemish note of realism is struck at the very beginning. The landscape shows the Flemish genius to be worlds in advance of the Italian—light and atmosphere are thoroughly understood and mastered. When the shutters were closed upon the altarpiece, Jan van Eyck painted in *grisaille* the donor and his wife on either side of the two Saints—John the Baptist with his lamb, and John the Evangelist holding the poisoned chalice; above all is wrought an *Annunciation*. Berlin possesses the fine panel of the *Singing Angels*, the two panels of the *Just Judges* and the *Soldiers of Christ*, with the *St. Cecilia*, the *Holy Hermits*, and the *Holy Pilgrims*. The *Adam* and *Eve*, by Jan van Eyck, are at Brussels.

Sir Frederick Cook's Van Eyck, the *Marys at the Sepulchre*, has been given to each brother in turn; but whether by one or both, it displays their art in its most poetic mood. Berlin claims a *Madonna and Donor* and a *Crucifixion* by Hubert van Eyck; Turin and New York each claim a *St. Francis*.

Hubert van Eyck died on the 16th of September 1426, and his pupil and younger brother, Jan van Eyck, was called by the Burgomaster, Jodocus Vydts, to finish the altarpiece, which he did upon the lines traced out by Hubert. A hundred years afterwards, Michael Coxis made a fine copy of the altarpiece for Philip II. of Spain, which, unfortunately, has also been scattered—part being at Berlin, part belonging to the King of Bavaria, and part at the Hague.

Hubert van Eyck, once dead and buried in the cathedral, was soon forgotten in Ghent; indeed, the whole

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

records of Burgundy ignored him and his school. It was not until about 1550 that they were even alluded to as serious painters in the national literature. But in Italy, though research and praise came too late to save us much record of the life and work of the man, the dealers in works of art in the fourteen-hundreds did considerable traffic in the paintings of Flemish painters with the south of Italy, as the churches in Naples testify; but the record of these things being lost, the Italian writers of the fourteen-hundreds, such as Alberti, Cyriacus of Ancona, Facius, and Filarete, give almost all Flemish works to Jan van Eyck or Rogier van der Weyden; and we find the gossip of the times in Italy almost invariably dragging in these two names regardless of dates of birth and death. Vasari's first edition of the *Lives* in 1550 never mentions Hubert van Eyck; and it was only in the last volume of his second edition, owing to the publication of Guicciardini's work on the Low Countries, that in 1568 Vasari blunderingly corrects his earlier statements. Guicciardini's work became the authority from which all later Italian writers drew their facts, distorting them as they went. The attribution of many works to Hubert van Eyck became the veriest guesswork, and much of it mere foolishness.

The chief works now given to Hubert van Eyck are: the greater part of the large St. Bavon altarpiece of *The Adoration of the Lamb* at Ghent; the Copenhagen panel; Sir F. Cook's *Three Marys at the Sepulchre*; and the Hermannstaat *Portrait of Man holding a Ring*.

JAN VAN EYCK

1390? – 1441

The pupil and younger brother, Jan van Eyck, also fell into neglect, but seems to have been saved, even in the

years after his death, from the complete obliteration that for a long time threatened Hubert. But Jan van Eyck knew a romantic career, and it saved his memory.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE BURSTS INTO SONG IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GHENT

When Michelle de France died in Ghent in 1421, Jan van Eyck went to the Court of John of Bavaria, Bishop of Liège, who had lately conquered Holland. If he were thirty at this time, he was born about 1390. This infamous prince's Court was at The Hague, and from September 23, 1422, until January 13, 1423, Jan van Eyck was at The Hague. The much perished and much restored altarpiece by Jan van Eyck at Chatsworth is said to have been painted in 1421. John of Bavaria died in 1425, and Jan van Eyck went to the Court of the great Philip the Good of Burgundy. His many portraits of this time have vanished, but we know that he was "my lord's painter and varlet" on a hundred livres a year; that he had perquisites from Lille or Bruges, or when sent in the suite of the "secret pilgrimages," in which it was his business to make portraits of the several great ladies to whom the much-widowed duke offered marriage, in 1426, 1428, 1430, 1433, and 1436! It was in 1428 that Philip the Good of Burgundy turned his eyes to a Portuguese marriage, and on the 19th of the October of that year Jan van Eyck, his lord's "painter and varlet," stepped aboard one of the two Venetian galleys that weighed anchor at Sluys for Lisbon, being in the suite of the lord of Roubaix, who went to offer his duke in marriage to Isabel of Portugal. The 18th of December saw the embassy arrive at Lisbon, and for some months Jan van Eyck lived at Arrayollos, Aviz, Santiago di Compostella, Jaen, and Granada. The effect of Jan van Eyck's art upon the rising genius of Spain was, as we have seen, very great. He painted Isabel of Portugal during his nine months in Spain and Portugal,

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returning home on the Christmas Day of 1429 with Philip's bride.

The following year, 1430, Jan van Eyck bought the house at Bruges which became his home until his death on the 9th day of July 1440. By Philip the Good the artist was always handsomely treated and honoured; and that the most friendly feelings existed between master and man is shown in Philip's standing godfather to his "painter and varlet's" girl Philippina, born in June 1434. Jan van Eyck had a second daughter, Livina, who, eight years after her father's death, went into a convent in the painter's native town of Maaseyck.

Jan van Eyck's art was far different from, and a great advance upon, that of his elder brother. He came closer to Nature and to realism, shedding much of the church convention of Hubert's design from him. He was a realist, and as such a great portrait-painter. His grip of textures and of surfaces is astounding. In his hands the utterance of art made a wondrous forward leap. His treatment of draperies almost completely rejects all servitude to sculpture. In portraiture he far surpassed all the artistry of his age. He increased the power of oil-painting to utter the depth and solidity of reality; and he thrust forward its artistry in almost miraculous fashion. His *Arnolfini and his Wife* at the National Gallery is a triumph in painting far in advance of the whole achievement of the age. It is the supreme work of art painted by any primitive in any school. One of the supreme treasures in the National collection, it is also one of the wonders of the whole art of painting. In Jan van Eyck we get the brushing of the oil-colours into each other by blending whilst wet. The capacity for modelling, and the utterance of depth, were not bettered by the full Italian Renaissance; whilst the

I

JAN VAN EYCK

1390? – 1441

EARLY FLEMISH SCHOOL

"JAN ARNOLFINI AND HIS WIFE"

(National Gallery)

On wood; signed "Johannes de Eyck fuit hic 1434." 2 ft. 9 in. h. × 2 ft. ½ in. w. (0·839 × 0·622).

haunting musical sense given forth by this achievement thrusts it forward to modern vision and accomplishment. His clear and almost microscopic vision drew Jan van Eyck to create his masterpieces on a small scale; yet it is in the very breadth and freedom with which he painted such a small panel as this that one stands a-wonder at the magic of it. His mastery of landscape was no less searching and pure than his mastery of the portrait.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE BURSTS INTO SONG IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GHENT

Jan van Eyck was given to signing his works with his picturesque signature almost as soon as they were sketched in, as though the signature were to be part of the design; and for this reason his memory has been better preserved than it might have been. He often added the words "Als ich kann" (As I can), the first phrase of the Flemish saying, "As I can, not as I would." The Chatsworth *Consecration of Thomas à Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1421, has been challenged; but its damaged state makes certainty difficult.

The will of Anselme Adorne, knight and lord of Corthuy, by Bruges, of the 10th of February 1470, bequeaths to each of his two daughters "a little picture by Jan van Eyck of *St. Francis*." Weale considers the Johnson *St. Francis* by Jan van Eyck to be a reduction of the Turin *St. Francis* by Hubert. We have seen that he worked on the St. Bavon altarpiece. The *Fount of Salvation* at Madrid, said to be by Hubert or by Jan van Eyck, is a copy of a lost work, and the weighty authority of Weale suggests Margaret van Eyck as the painter.

In 1432, as his signature and date, with his motto of "As well as I can" (Als ich chan) prove, he painted the *Virgin and Child seated under a Penthouse*, now at Ince Hall, near Liverpool; and Frankfort possesses his *Madonna di Lucca*, once in the possession of the Duke of Lucca.

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The National Gallery has his sunny *Portrait of a Man*, known as the "*Leal Souvenir*" or "*Tymotheos*," signed and dated the 10th October 1432, and the wonderful *Portrait of a Man in a Red Turban* (or Chaperon), seen in a strong light and shade, signed and dated the 21st of October 1433, a wondrous piece of draughtsmanship; whilst Berlin possesses the rugged, clean-shaven *Man with the Pinks.*

Of the year 1434, as testified by his name and date, Jan van Eyck painted the famous *Jean Arnolfini and his Wife, Jeanne de Chenany*, or Chenay, now at the National Gallery, his supreme masterpiece—indeed, the supreme Flemish masterpiece of his age. Consider for a moment the achievement of the world elsewhere when Jan van Eyck created this astounding thing! Here are problems solved at the start that Italy of the Renaissance never solved. The figures stand in the room, held in the atmosphere of that room lit by the window at the side, every object in that room painted to its exact and true value, the haunting shadows yielding their half-revealed facts with amazing truth. In the mirror are seen the backs of the standing figures, and two figures appear from outside the picture, supposed to be Jan van Eyck and his assistant. So broadly is the whole rendered, yet so minute the detail, that the small mirror contains in its frame ten small pictures of *Scenes of the Passion.* And not the least wonderful fact about the whole thing is the preservation of the colour, a rare tribute to the artist's use of pigment. No man ever painted minute detail with more marvellous breadth than Jan van Eyck. The picture has a strange history, and not the least strange part of it is the means whereby it came to England. Major-General Hay, lying wounded in Brussels after Waterloo, and then a lieutenant, saw it on the walls, took a fancy to it, and bought it for eighty pounds!

II

JAN VAN EYCK

1390? – 1441

EARLY FLEMISH SCHOOL

"THE MAN WITH THE RED CHAPERON"

(National Gallery)

Painted on wood, the frame being inscribed "Oct. 21, 1433." 10¼ in. h. × ½ in. w. (0·26 × 0·19).

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE BURSTS INTO SONG IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GHENT

Berlin possesses the *Virgin with the Child, with St. Barbara presenting the Donor*, and the fine portrait of *Baldwin de Lannoy*, whilst the Louvre holds the *Angel crowning the Virgin with the Child, adored by the kneeling Donor Rollin, Chancellor to Philip the Good*, remarkable for the astounding detail of the landscape background, even for Jan van Eyck.

To 1436 belongs the largest painting known by Jan van Eyck, the altarpiece at Bruges Academy—*The Canon George de Pala presented by St. Donatian to the Virgin and Infant Christ.* And of the same year, as dated, is the *Portrait of Jan de Leeuw* at the Belvedere in Vienna, which gallery also possesses the so-called *Portrait of Jodocus Vydts* in old age, which seems not wholly likely if we judge by his portrait as donor in the St. Bavon altarpiece ; it is, as a matter of fact, *Cardinal Albergati.*

Antwerp possesses the *St. Ursula*, seated before a Gothic tower, dated 1437, curiously handled as to its brushing. Berlin has the head of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, painted in 1438.

At Bruges is the famous *Portrait of his Wife*, a plain woman enough, painted in 1439, in which his exquisite delicacy of handling is seen in all his dexterous skill.

Dresden possesses the highly finished small altarpiece of the *Virgin and Child*, with its two wings of *St. Catherine* and of *St. George presenting the Donor.*

The Imperial Treasury at Vienna holds the embroidered robes made for Philip the Good for the festival initiated by him to honour the Order of the Golden Fleece, for which Jan van Eyck designed some of the figures.

Besides a sister, MARGARET VAN EYCK, skilled as a painter, whose works are lost to us, and who died before Jan van Eyck and was buried beside Hubert in Ghent

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

Cathedral, Jan and Hubert van Eyck had a third brother, LAMBERT VAN EYCK, reputed to have been a painter.

The influence of the Van Eycks upon the painting of their whole race, and upon that of Italy, of Spain, and thereafter upon all the Northern art of Germany, France, and Britain, was incalculable. Their realism revealed the whole Gothic sense of life to the North, and to Spain and to England. The altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Lamb* was to Northern art what Masaccio's frescoes were to Italy.

Before surveying the achievement of Jan van Eyck's great rival, Rogier van der Weyden, let us glance at

THE PUPILS AND INFLUENCE OF THE VAN EYCKS

Of only one supposed pupil of the Van Eycks have we any record:

PETRUS CRISTUS
1410 – 1473

Petrus Cristus was born at Baarle, near Tilbure (in Brabant), the son of a maker of crucifixes, hence the name. The records prove that he purchased the freedom of Bruges in 1444. In 1446 he painted the Verulam portrait of *Edward Grimston*. The year 1450 saw him in the guild of St. Luke. We know that he was living in Bruges in 1471 and died in 1473. Though he drew the figure in stunted fashion, with round heads, and his colour lacks translucency, he was a capable master of the portrait. One of his earliest works is the *Virgin and Child with a Fountain* at Berlin, where also are an *Annunciation* and *Nativity* by him. Frankfort possesses his *Virgin and Saints*, painted in 1447; and Madrid an *Annunciation Visitation*, *Nativity*, and *Epiphany*. The older he grew, the more dusky became

III

JAN VAN EYCK

1390? – 1441

EARLY FLEMISH SCHOOL

"THE VIRGIN AND CHILD AND THE CHANCELLOR ROLIN"

(La Vierge au donateur)

(LOUVRE)

Painted in oil on panel. 2 ft. 2 in. × 2 ft. ½ in. (0·66 × 0·62).

his colouring, as the *St. Elisius* (1449) in Baron Oppenheim's collection at Cologne, and the *Last Judgment* at Berlin (1452), a childish business, prove. The Hermitage at St. Petersburg holds a *Last Judgment* and *Crucifixion* by him; Turin a *Virgin and Child*; and Copenhagen a *Kneeling Dignitary with St. Anthony*. The Uffizi at Florence contains two fine portraits of *A Man* and *A Woman* by him, long given to Van der Goes. And Berlin possesses a tenderly wrought *Lady in a Peaked Cap*. The National Gallery has a *Portrait of a Man* from the Salting Collection.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE BURSTS INTO SONG IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GHENT

Before we leave the Van Eycks and Cristus let us turn a moment to the Sicilian painter, ANTONELLO DA MESSINA, who exerted so wide an influence upon the art of Venice. It is difficult to place the art of Antonello da Messina in the Venetian achievement of which he became a part; for he remained to the end of his life a Flemish artist. It is true that the legend which makes him go north and discover the secret of oil-painting from Jan van Eyck is absurd—he was born four years after Jan van Eyck died. But whilst he could not have been a direct pupil of Jan van Eyck, he was unmistakably a follower and disciple. His whole art is deep-rooted in the art of Jan van Eyck. The traffic in pictures between Flanders and Italy, particularly Venice and the south of Italy, was very great. Hubert van Eyck is said to have gone to Italy; and Rogier van der Weyden certainly did so. The Italians bought Flemish pictures, and we see the Italian merchant Arnolfini the cause of Jan van Eyck's greatest masterpiece.

Antonello da Messina, by his draughtsmanship, by his portraiture, by his colour, by his realism, reveals himself a close student of the art of Jan van Eyck. We know that he introduced the Flemish oil-painting into Venice, to the painters of which city he gave as much as he got from

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

them. His *Salvator Mundi* at the National Gallery, dated 1465, is wholly Flemish, and is his earliest known work. Ten years later he was painting the remarkable *Condottiere* at the Louvre, from which all the earlier hesitations have vanished. His famous little *St. Jerome in his Study* at the National Gallery is pure Flemish, before he has broadened into his Venetian manner.

CHAPTER III

WHEREIN ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN LEADS ART INTO BRUSSELS

THE SO-CALLED SCHOOL OF BRABANT had its seat at Brussels, with Rogier van der Weyden as its great leader, trained by Robert Campin of Tournai.

WHEREIN ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN LEADS ART INTO BRUSSELS

CAMPIN
1365-75 – 1444

The wars that desolated the country about Liège fell heavily upon the region of the Maas, and sent the artists of Maastricht scattering over Flanders and Hainault and France. One of these men, ROBERT CAMPIN, born in 1365 or 1375, and dying on the 26th of April 1444, settled in Tournai with his wife, Isabella of Stockhem, about 1406 ; in 1408 he bought a house ; in 1410 he was free of the city. In 1426 he received as pupil one ROGIER DE LA PASTURE, and in 1427 another pupil, JAMES DARET. Campin came to great repute and amassed a large fortune. The Prado *Selection of St. Joseph and the Marriage of the Blessed Virgin* are probably by Campin.

Campin has lately been discovered to be the MAÎTRE DE FLÉMALLE, so called from the full-length panels of the *Virgin* and *St. Veronica* at the Abbey of Flémalle by Liège, now at Frankfort ; and is thought to be the MAÎTRE OF THE MÉRODE ALTARPIECE, a triple picture in the Mérode palace at Brussels, now in America.

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

Whilst Jan van Eyck was bringing glory to Bruges there arose in Brussels his great rival, some ten years younger, the painter ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN, who, though of lesser genius, was to add to the early achievement of Flemish art.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN
1399 – 1464

ROGIER or ROGER DE LA PASTURE, or ROUGELET DE LA PASTURE, better known as ROGER or ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN, the son of one Henri van der Weyden of Tournai, was born at Tournai in 1399. He, with Jacques Daret, was the pupil of Robert Campin at Tournai, to whom he apprenticed himself in 1426, and these facts cover his early history. He was to live long, and paint much; and to make famous the school of the Scheldt. He married, whilst still at Tournai, Elizabeth Goffaerts. In 1432 Van der Weyden takes the freedom of his guild at Tournai, and in 1436 we find him living at Brussels as the "town painter." Henceforth fortune and fame rapidly came to him. With the mysteries of oil-painting and the practice of the Van Eycks or other masters of the Meuse he had little in common; but was trained in the painting from tinted sculpture that prevailed at Tournai—indeed, Van der Weyden himself coloured low-reliefs. His style is founded on the painted low-relief. Unfortunately his early work is unknown. Brussels, where he wrought the greater part of his art, holds none of his known works. To Berlin we must go for his earliest church-painting: the triple altarpiece of *The Nativity*, the *Pietà*, and the *Resurrection*, painted about 1445, and brought from Spain. Berlin and Frankfort both possess replicas of the triple altarpieces by him of the *Life of John the Baptist*—the *Birth*

of John, the *Baptism of Christ*, and the *Beheading of John*. The Westminster Van der Weyden is of about this period. The Hospital at Beaune has his *Last Judgment*, painted for the Chancellor Rollin between 1443 and 1447, in which he shows close adhesion to the architectural scheme of the altarpiece, which holds portraits of Philip the Good, Pope Eugenius IV, and Philip's second wife, Isabella of Portugal, whom Jan van Eyck brought to her wedding; the outsides of the shutters hold the portraits of the kneeling patron, Rollin, and his wife, Guignonne de Salin. Madrid possesses the large *Descent from the Cross* and two replicas from it, whilst the church of St. Pierre at Louvain has a third and smaller replica.

WHEREIN ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN LEADS ART INTO BRUSSELS

In 1449 Van der Weyden made his famous journey into Italy, being treated with great distinction by the artists of Ferrara, amongst whom he spent a considerable time. It was at Ferrara that he painted his *Descent from the Cross* for Lionel d'Este. And it is significant that the artists of Ferrara were strongly influenced by him, even by his sad realism, whilst his visit to Italy left Van der Weyden wholly untouched by the Italian style or spirit. The old artist wandered to Florence and Rome, but Giotto, Orcagna, Angelico, and Masaccio meant nothing to him; indeed, at Florence he painted for the Medici (Pietro and Giovanni de' Medici) the *Virgin and Child* with the patron saints Peter and John, their name-saints, and Cosmo and Damian, the family saints—an exquisitely wrought work, now at Frankfort, in which is no slightest sign of alien influence; and he is known to have preferred the art of Gentile da Fabriano to that of Giotto or Fra Angelico. But his effect on Italian art was wide. He was at Rome in 1450 during the Pope's Jubilee.

Rogier van der Weyden came back to Brussels from

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

Rome in 1450, and painted the grand and dignified triple altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Infant Christ*, now at Berlin, for Pierre Bladelin, the treasurer of the Golden Fleece. In the centre is the *Nativity*; on one side the *Annunciation of the Redeemer to the Ruler of the West* (*the Emperor Augustus*) *by the Tiburtine Sibyl*; on the other the *Child appearing as a Star to the Three Kings* who keep watch on the mountain-side. In 1455 he wrought the triple altarpiece of the *Crucifixion*, the *Expulsion*, and the *Last Judgment* for Jean Robert, Abbot of St. Aubert of Cambrai, which is said to be the one now at Madrid. Munich has the triple altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Kings*, with the wings of the *Annunciation* and the *Presentation in the Temple*, one of the largest and most important works of the master, though somewhat vivid in colour. For the altar of the guild of St. Luke at Brussels Van der Weyden painted the well-known *St. Luke painting the Virgin*, now at Munich, wrought with great beauty and translucency of colour, and with the added interest of holding the painter's self-portrait as St. Luke. The Hague possesses the *Descent from the Cross*, usually given to Van der Weyden's pupil Memlinc, but probably a work of a painter of his school, as is the triple altarpiece of the *Seven Sacraments* at Antwerp. Amongst other so-called later works, but also probably the work of his school, are the narrow, life-sized, three wing-paintings at Frankfort of *The Virgin nursing the Child*, the *St. Veronica* with the handkerchief, and *The Trinity*.

In 1462 Rogier and his wife enter a holy confraternity; and two years thereafter Rogier van der Weyden died at Brussels on the 16th of the June of 1464, being buried at the church of Ste. Gudule there, leaving a widow and several children.

Van der Weyden founded his art on realism. There is

something almost comic in the realism of the executioner who has cut off the head of the Baptist; he is a born butcher. His art ran by preference to the emotions of sorrow or pity, and he uttered these emotions through the figures of his day, without idealising, without thinning grief or tempering pity. His weakness in drawing always grew worse as he approached the extremities. But, whatever his defects of draughtsmanship, he never failed in uttering the mood desired. An earnest, deeply religious man, his art never smiles. He seemed to abhor shadows, and evaded them. His influence on Flemish painting was very great. The school that the Van Eycks founded was threatened by early death, but was saved by Rogier van der Weyden. His great pupil Memlinc, adding the vision of the Van Eycks to his schooling under Rogier van der Weyden, brought back life to the achievement of Bruges. And the union of these two schools broadened the art of the Netherlands; their influence reached out to Germany. Van der Weyden taught Memlinc and Dirk Bouts their skill—Bouts taught Quentin Massys; but both Memlinc and Bouts owed as much to the art of the Van Eycks as to their direct master. To the studio of Rogier van der Weyden flocked painters from Germany and the Netherlands; and to the sentimentality of Germany his realism and fine craftsmanship came as a healthy discipline. By preference, the Germans went to Van der Weyden's cool colour and flat tones rather than to the deep rich harmonies of Jan van Eyck.

WHEREIN ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN LEADS ART INTO BRUSSELS

Recent research has destroyed much myth about Rogier, from his son to the hundreds of school-pictures attributed to him. His painting of flesh is cool, with the modelling wrought in greys. The National Gallery in London holds a *Deposition in the Tomb*, given to Rogier, but by his pupil

Dirk Bouts; two others given to him are not by him, but a *Portrait of a Lady* in a white muslin head-dress, and described as of the "Flemish School," from the Lyne Stephens Bequest, is by Rogier. Woerlitz has a fine *Portrait of a Woman* by Van der Weyden, and Antwerp his portrait of *Philip the Good.*

JACQUES DARET

Amongst the artists working in the years of Rogier van der Weyden was a painter who has been discovered to be one JACQUES DARET of Tournai, a fellow-pupil of Rogier van der Weyden under Robert Campin at Tournai; he was free of the guild in 1432, the same year as Rogier.

Jacques Daret is also said to be the author of the fine double portrait of *A Man and his Wife* at the National Gallery. His rich colouring approaches nearer to the art of Jan van Eyck than that of his fellow-pupil Rogier van der Weyden; and the handling of the character in this man with the double chin, with his red head-dress, is founded on the influence of Van Eyck. In the elderly man's pretty young wife, Daret also shows himself a consummate artist. The National Gallery contains, besides, a fine *Death of the Virgin* by Daret, which has been given to many parents, German and Flemish—to Schongauer, Van der Weyden's pupil, amongst others, and to Hugo van der Goes, who, it is known, as a young man before he came to reputation, was an assistant of the famous Jacques Daret in the decoration of the city of Bruges when Charles the Bold married Margaret of York in 1468. In the *Death of the Virgin* we have Daret's typical cool flesh tints, inclined to purple, in such marked contrast with Jan van Eyck's bronze flesh tones; and we have his rich glowing colour-harmonies

throughout. The Prado contains the two wings of Daret's famous altarpiece, known as the *Werl Altarpiece*, from the portrait of the donor, Heinrich Werl of Cologne, and dated 1438. The Comtesse de Mérode possesses in Brussels his small triple picture of the *Annunciation*; and Frankfort the fragments of a large altarpiece.

WHEREIN ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN LEADS ART INTO BRUSSELS

CHAPTER IV

WHEREIN WE SEE THE RENAISSANCE ENTER INTO HOLLAND BY WAY OF HAARLEM

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

We come now to the achievement of Holland and Flanders in the last half of the fourteen-hundreds. Rogier van der Weyden had amongst his many pupils two who were to achieve greatness—the Dutchmen Dirk Bouts and Hans Memlinc. Before we survey the art of Dirk Bouts we must go to Holland awhile. Now there was painting in Holland, when Rogier van der Weyden wrought his art, a Dutchman of the name of Albert van Ouwater, who founded an early Dutch School—the School of Haarlem, which became reputed for its high achievement in landscape.

OUWATER

Working 1430–1460

Albert van Ouwater, who founded the Dutch School at Haarlem, and flourished thereat in Rogier's day, was a fine draughtsman, who made his mark in landscape as well as having repute for the rendering of draperies and for the painting of hands and feet. That he founded landscape-painting in Holland is proved by the reputation of a collection of these paintings by him in the house of Cardinal Grimani in the fifteen-hundreds, as Anonimo bears witness; but unfortunately these works are lost. The only painting that is with certainty given to him is a *Raising of Lazarus* at Berlin, odd to say, without landscape. The National

Gallery in London holds an anonymous *Exhumation of St. Hubert*, strongly suspected to be by him, though sometimes wrongly given to Dirk Bouts, wherein we see the body of the once hunter, who had been converted by seeing a stag turn upon him with a crucifix between his antlers; and the worthy Hubert, having become a churchman and Bishop of Liège, having died and been buried, was taken from his grave a century later, when, to the surprise of King Louis the Debonnair of France and the assembled people, the holy St. Hubert's body was found to have suffered no decay.

WHEREIN WE SEE THE RENAISSANCE ENTER INTO HOLLAND BY WAY OF HAARLEM

GERARD OF ST. JOHN OF HAARLEM

Ouwater left a pupil, GEERTEN VAN ST. JANS, or Gerard of St. John's, to carry on the flame. This painter, so named from the monastery of the Knights of St. John at Haarlem, is said by Van Mander to have been greatly admired by Dürer. However, Geerten van St. Jans left one accepted work, an altarpiece spoken of by Van Mander, of which the two wings, a *Pietà* and the *Three Legends of the Bones of John the Baptist*, are at Vienna, and said to have been once in the collection of Charles I of England. They were painted about 1460-1470. Berlin possesses his very fine *St. John the Baptist*, once put down to Patenir. Prague has the *Adoration of the Magi*, Amsterdam the *Sacrifice of Christ*, and the Louvre the *Raising of Lazarus*.

DIRK BOUTS

1400? – 1475

From this School of Haarlem came to Louvain in Flanders one DIERICK STUERBOUT, or THIERRY BOUTS, or DIERICK BOUTS, or DIRK BOUTS, which you will, to the

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

pupillage of Rogier van der Weyden, to be a fellow-pupil of Hans Memlinc ; to die and disappear and be forgotten ; and to come back to fame again in recent years.

There hangs in the Flemish Room at the National Gallery in London a portrait of a sickly-looking young man in a dull-red conical cap, long held to be the portrait of Memlinc by himself; but, then, everything of note created by an early Flemish painter in the last half of the fourteen-hundreds was given to Memlinc. The portrait is neither of Memlinc in the uniform of an hospital, nor is it by Memlinc—it is the presentment of Dirk Bouts, and painted by Dirk Bouts. The portrait bears the date 1462, and we shall see the same face appear again later. This portrait once belonged to Samuel Rogers the poet. Though the art of the two pupils of Rogier holds much in common, the work of Memlinc is tender, idealistic, softer, and more charming ; the work of Bouts is unselected realism. Dirk Bouts was incapable of painting people of breeding; even when arrayed as emperor or courtier—he composes in the awkward, unarranged, scattered manner so common to the early Flemish genius. He knew no restraint of emotion or taste. And yet he would set the unspeakable agonies and details of torture in an exquisite and serene landscape, painted with as exquisite colour, as in his altar-piece of the *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* at Louvain.

Little is known of Dirk Bouts. The son of a landscape painter, most of his work was created as a guildsman of Louvain in that city from about 1460. His art is clearly trained by Rogier van der Weyden ; and the influence of Memlinc upon him, or his influence upon Memlinc, is at times very marked. He was born at Haarlem, and on somewhat thin evidence his date of birth is given as early as 1400. He is stated to have been long resident in

WHEREIN WE SEE THE RENAISSANCE ENTER INTO HOLLAND BY WAY OF HAARLEM

Louvain in 1460; by 1450 he was married to the daughter of a burgess of that city, and settled in Louvain. His date of settlement in Louvain is now generally accepted as being about 1448. Like that of Memlinc, his art was greatly influenced by the paintings of Jan van Eyck, as well as by his master Rogier; and it is significant that his great altarpiece, *The Last Supper* or *The Holy Sacrament*, in the Church of St. Pierre, which is the Cathedral of Louvain, was long given alternately to Jan van Eyck and to Memlinc—the Christ being like Memlinc's type, and the two youths looking through the buttery-hatch, who are the two sons of Dirk Bouts, being painted in the manner of Jan van Eyck. In this altarpiece the portrait of Dirk Bouts, by himself, again appears, standing behind a buffet at the side. He has aged considerably, though the *Last Supper* was only finished six years later than the National Gallery portrait—1464 to 1468. Of the wings to this famous altarpiece, Munich possesses two—the *Abraham and Melchisedec* and the *Gathering of the Manna*; whilst Berlin holds two others—*Elijah in the Wilderness fed by an Angel* and the *First Celebration of the Passover*. Just before this he had painted for the same church his *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*, with its wings of *St. Jerome* and *St. Bernard* (1463 or 1464). But the enamel-like hardness of the colouring, the draughtsmanship, and the free display of hands, in the painting of which he so greatly excelled, are all typical of Bouts. Next to Jan van Eyck, Bouts is the forceful colourist of the early Flemings. He delighted in setting crimsons and bright reds aflame together. But his drawing, his weak sense of anatomy, his long necks and heads, his sloping shoulders and weak knees always reveal his handiwork. These tricks of draughtsmanship are perhaps carried to their greatest excess in the two young Court

gallants of the long thin legs in his famed two pictures at Brussels (painted about 1468) of the *Justice of Otto III*—the *Emperor Otto's Unjust Sentence*, and the *Emperor Otto makes Reparation for his Unjust Sentence*; the emperor having caused one of his nobles to be beheaded on the false witness of his empress, the wife of the murdered man proved his innocence by the ordeal of fire, and the empress was condemned to the flames. Dirk Bouts painted his own portrait again in the Penrhyn picture of *St. Luke painting the Virgin*, taken from Rogier van der Weyden's famous picture, in which he changes his master's features for his own.

The National Gallery in London possesses an altarpiece by Dirk Bouts of the *Virgin and Child with St. Peter and St. Paul*, and an *Entombment*, catalogued thereat as being by his master Rogier van der Weyden. This *Entombment* is interesting as being a work by Bouts in tempera on fine linen instead of in oils on panel. In the Salting Bequest is another fine *Virgin and Child* by Bouts.

At Munich is a fine altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi*, its wings holding *St. John the Baptist* and *St. Christopher*, this last being one of the most glowing works from his hand, remarkable for its landscape. The Cathedral Church of St. Saviour at Bruges holds the altarpiece of *The Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus* by Dirk, the portraits of the donors on the shutters being probably painted by Van der Goes when Dirk died.

In 1468 Dirk Bouts appears in the city records as "town painter," having just completed the pictures of the *Unjust Emperor Otto*. He was forthwith commissioned to paint for the Town Hall a *Last Judgment*, which he finished in 1472, and four large pieces, twelve feet high, of which he only completed one, dying in 1475—that picture to

V

MEMLINC

1430?–1494

EARLY NETHERLANDISH SCHOOL

"VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH DONOR AND ST GEORGE"

(National Gallery)

The donor kneels; behind him stands St George.

On wood. 1 ft. 9½ in. h. × 1 ft. 2¾ in. w. (0·54 × 0·375).

IV

DIRK BOUTS

1400? – 1475

EARLY NETHERLANDISH SCHOOL

"VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ST PETER AND ST PAUL"

(National Gallery)

On wood. 2 ft. 3½ in. h. × 1 ft. 8½ in. w. (0·69 × 0·52).

award the value of which brought Hugo van der Goes from his monastery to its estimating.

WHEREIN WE SEE THE RENAISSANCE ENTER INTO HOLLAND BY WAY OF HAARLEM

Dirk Bouts died on May 6, 1475, leaving two sons, DIRK BOUTS and ALBERT BOUTS, both painters; Albert Bouts coming to considerable distinction, being the so-called "MASTER OF THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN."

It would appear that there lived at the same time as Dirk Bouts in Louvain a painter, Hubert Stuerbout, who had several sons, also painters.

CHAPTER V

WHEREIN A PURE LYRIC PAINTER COMES OUT OF HOLLAND TO MAKE BRUGES FAMOUS

HANS MEMLINC
1430-35 – 1494

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

THE second great pupil, or disciple, of Rogier de la Pasture (Van der Weyden) was Memlinc, who shares with Dirk Bouts the chief glories of Flemish painting in the late fourteen-hundreds. But the art of Memlinc is a blithe and amiable revelation of life in marked contrast with the matter-of-fact realism of Jan van Eyck and the gloomy religious temper of Rogier van der Weyden—and he sees the religious life as a happy wayfaring where Dirk Bouts is more concerned with its tortures and its realistic insistence. Serene and bright, Memlinc brings a blithe note into Flemish art. He used his favourite cherry-red robes to gown the Madonna, and reds and gold made pleasant rhythm in his eyes. He set his golden-haired Madonnas in their red robes on red thrones, and their high foreheads bore no crown of suffering.

Duke Philip died insane on the 15th of June 1467; Charles the Bold made his entry into the capital on the Palm Sunday of 1468, and brought his bride Margaret of York thereto, three months later. The pageants were gorgeous and lavish, and the artists employed were PETER COUSTAIN and JOHN HENNEQUART, painters to the Duke; JACQUES DARET and PHILIP TRUFFIN of Tournai; FRANCIS STOC and LIVIN VAN LATHEM of Brussels; DANIEL DE

RYCKE and HUGO VAN DER GOES of Ghent; GOVART of Antwerp; JOHN DU CHÂTEAU of Ypres, and HANS MEMLINC. Enter Hans Memlinc upon our ken, and for the first time is discovered to our day, already a master-painter of renown.

WHEREIN A PURE LYRIC PAINTER COMES OUT OF HOLLAND TO MAKE BRUGES FAMOUS

Of his birth, of his 'prentice days, we know nothing. But we can shrewdly guess much. The stock of which he came arose in Memelynck, by Alkmaar, in Northern Holland—he too, like Dirk Bouts of his own day, was Dutch—they settled at Deutichern in Guelderland, and between 1491 and 1498 removed to Mainz. Hans was born about 1425 to 1435; served his apprenticeship to painting in Mainz, and went thence to work at Cologne, as a little fact in his paintings proves; for, in his backgrounds, the buildings of Cologne are closely rendered, as in the first, fifth, and sixth panels of his *Shrine of St. Ursula* at Bruges, whilst the second and fourth panels of Basel and the third panel of Rome are sheer imagination! Vasari and Guicciardini both assert him to have then become pupil to Rogier de la Pasture (Van der Weyden), who returned from Italy in 1450, and it is likely that he worked for a time under Dirk Bouts in Louvain.

By 1478 Memlinc was in Bruges.

Memlinc's first known work is the triple altarpiece of the *Last Judgment* in the Church of St. Mary at Dantzig (1465 to 1473), which has been given to many parents, painted for Angelo di Jacopo Tani, the agent of the Medici in Bruges, who in 1466 went to Florence and married there Katherine, daughter of William Tanagli—the portraits and arms of Tani and his wife are painted on the outside of the shutters. The altarpiece was sent early in 1473 by sea to Florence, but being captured by freebooters it was taken as prize to Dantzig.

Tani secured for Memlinc the regard of the Italian medallist *Spinelli of Arezzo*, whose portrait he painted (now at Antwerp) in 1467-68, when Spinelli was at the Court of Charles the Bold. Philip had died in the June of 1467, and as soon as the Court mourning was over, Charles again sent the embassy to England to secure the hand of Margaret of York—Memlinc going to paint her portrait—and meeting Sir John Donne, an ardent Yorkist, whose brother-in-law was Lord Hastings, the Lord Chamberlain to the King. It was for the Yorkist Sir John Donne that he painted, on Sir John's coming to Bruges in the suite of the princess, the famous *Chatsworth Triple Altarpiece* (1468), known as the *Donne Triptych*, now at Chatsworth—Sir John's family appearing therein. From the beginning his poetic art shows the early influence of the mysticism of Cologne—he created here the type of the gracious, pure, and tender Madonna, to which he always afterwards adhered. From the first also he reveals his great Flemish gift of portraiture, and his high achievement in landscape.

These three early masterpieces of the fourteen-sixties were to be followed by remarkable achievement in the fourteen-seventies, the decade that brought forth his mature art. The public rejoicings of the new reign that brought Memlinc on to our stage were soon clouded by political troubles. Memlinc's peaceful nature made him shun strife; all his sympathies were with the burgess folk amongst whom he lived, and from whom he chose between 1470 and 1480, late in life, his wife, Anne de Valkenaere. His state was then considerable, apart from his wife's dowry, and at the end of the decade—1480—he was wealthy and prosperous, buying considerable house-property in the parish of St. Giles. He was a busy, industrious man, painting much. In 1470 he painted the *St. John the Baptist*,

now at Munich; in 1475 the exquisite little double picture of *The Blessed Virgin and Child* at the Louvre for John du Celier of the Guild of Merchant Grocers; in 1475 the panel of the *Virgin and Child* at the National Gallery, reminiscent of the Donne altarpiece at Chatsworth; in 1478 he painted for William Vrelant the superb and glowing *Vrelant Altarpiece* at Turin, that narrative altarpiece of *The Passion of our Lord*, in which he gives the story of Christ from the triumphal entry into Jerusalem to the Resurrection and appearance to Mary Magdalene; in 1479 he wrought the famous *Triple Altarpiece for the High Altar of the Hospital of St. John* at Bruges, as well as the triple picture of the *Adoration of the Magi*, presented to that Hospital by Brother John Floreins. In 1480 he painted the *Portraits of William Moreel and his Wife* at Brussels, and of one of their daughters, Mary Moreel, as the *Sibyl Sambetha*, at St. John's Hospital; the great narrative altarpiece of *Christ the Light of the World*, sometimes called *The Seven Joys of Mary*, now at Munich, painted for Peter Bultinc, a wealthy member of the Guild of Tanners at Bruges; and the triple picture of *The Dead Christ mourned by His Mother* at St. John's Hospital, besides a host of works now lost.

WHEREIN A PURE LYRIC PAINTER COMES OUT OF HOLLAND TO MAKE BRUGES FAMOUS

Memlinc evaded light and shade, employing colour as decoratively as he could instead. The Turin and Munich narrative altarpieces are astounding achievements in the employment of one background for the relation of several incidents, and the minuteness and exquisite use of colour.

Meantime, the year before Memlinc completed the famous narrative altarpiece at Turin, the affairs of Flanders had reached the supreme defeat of the disastrous battle of Nancy on the 5th of January 1477, in which Charles the Bold lost his life and his troops suffered rout. His only daughter Mary, who came to the duchy, on the 19th of

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

August married Maximilian, the son of the Emperor Frederick IV, thus making Flanders an appanage of the House of Austria, involving the Flemish in the miserable struggle which added the last stroke to the complete collapse of Bruges, already doomed by the silting of the waters upon which the city was built. The great haven had been rapidly silting since 1410; before 1500 struck no vessel of any large size could reach the city. The burghers, taken up with strife, could not give their energies to the saving of the city's port. They awoke to find Bruges cut off from the sea; whilst Antwerp, her great rival, blessed with peace, rapidly took her trade from her, drawing her merchant princes to her quays, and their commerce with them.

But Memlinc went on his placid way, creating his masterpieces as though all went well for Bruges—the fourteen-eighties saw him still at the height of his skill.

In 1484 he completed the *Altarpiece for the Moreel Chantry* in the Church of St. James, now in the Bruges Gallery. We have seen Memlinc already paint Moreel and his wife. Moreel was a brilliant man. Of the Guild of the Grocers, he had passed from one high office to another; until he became Burgomaster of Bruges in 1478, and again in the violent year of 1483. A strong personality, able, and an ardent defender of his country's liberty and rights, he had been imprisoned by Maximilian in 1481; and when Maximilian made his peace with Flanders on the 28th of June in 1485, he refused to write Moreel's name in the general amnesty. Moreel withdrew to Nieuport, returning to Bruges in 1488, to become treasurer of the city. In the triple picture, Moreel, his wife, five sons and eleven daughters are seen. The central picture contains a St. Christopher bearing the Infant Christ—besides two other saints.

VI

MEMLINC

1430?–1494

EARLY NETHERLANDISH SCHOOL

"VIRGIN AND CHILD"

Right panel of a diptych, painted in 1487 for Martin van Nieuwenhove. In Saint John's Hospital, Bruges.

WHEREIN A PURE LYRIC PAINTER COMES OUT OF HOLLAND TO MAKE BRUGES FAMOUS

To 1487 belongs the *Portrait of a Man* at Florence, and the exquisite double picture of the *Nieuwenhove Virgin and Child*, with *Portrait of Martin van Nieuwenhove*, his greatest example of portraiture. Nieuwenhove was a brilliant and promising man, who was elected burgomaster of Bruges at thirty-three, but died three years afterwards.

Unfortunately, Death stalked into Memlinc's household in 1487 and took Memlinc's beloved wife. He spent the next years brooding upon his far-famed *Shrine of St. Ursula* for St. John's Hospital, completing it in 1489—the relics being placed therein on the 21st of the October of that year. Ursula had gone to her death as to her bridal, so perhaps Memlinc now welcomed the thought of the end. However that may be, he always evaded horrors; and to him death mayhap looked but a pleasant thing.

In 1490 he finished the Louvre panel of the *Madonna and Child, with Presentation of the Family of James Floreins*, younger brother to the donor of the *Adoration of the Magi* triple altarpiece—a large family of nineteen children was given to James Floreins, as here witnessed.

To those years also belong Memlinc's fine *Portrait of an Old Man* at Berlin, and of his wife, the *Portrait of an Old Lady* at the Louvre.

To Memlinc had been born three sons—John, Cornelius, and Nicolas. He was now getting old, though his sons were still very young. At Lübeck Cathedral is an altarpiece of many panels which is said to have been painted by Memlinc in 1491, but is the work of pupils. On the eleventh day of the August of 1494, the old artist passed away. Memlinc was buried beside his old friend William Vrelant, the miniaturist, in the churchyard of St. Giles's at Bruges. The memory of him, like the city that witnessed his splendour, rapidly fell into decay. His only recorded

THE EARLY NETHER-LANDISH PAINTERS

pupils, JOHN VERHANNEMANN and PASSCHIER VAN DER MEERSCH, came to no distinction ; nor do his sons seem to have followed his art. The artist who was, as declared at his death by Rumwold de Doppere, "then considered to be the most skilled and excellent painter in all Christendom," had become so lost to tradition in 1604 that Van Mander's gossip pen could write but vague tribute to him. Then legend began to invent a sordid, adventurous, drunken life for him—probably bemuddling him with Van der Goes. He paints the picture for St. John's Hospital in return for the charity of the brothers—he is made a dissolute soldier dragging his wounded body from the rout at Nancy, in order that he may be taken in and paint that altarpiece at the Hospital—but the placid, religious spirit of the man breathes through all his art, and a blithe spirit it is, without dross or vulgarity—exquisite and tense.

In Memlinc we have an exquisite colourist unsurpassed amongst the primitive painters; a gracious spirit that gave itself forth in the poetic utterance of all that is tender and fragrant and exquisite in life, but a limited artist who could sing only within a narrow compass, incapable of mighty or majestic flight, soaring on wings too slight for tragedy or the larger emotions of life—a pure lyric poet.

VII

MEMLINC

1430?–1494

EARLY NETHERLANDISH SCHOOL

"MARTIN VAN NIEUWENHOVE"

Left panel of the diptych in the Hospital of Saint John at Bruges.

CHAPTER VI

WHEREIN A RIOTOUS FELLOW OF GHENT BECOMES A MONK TO KEEP HIM FROM THE BOTTLE—BUT CARRIES THE BOTTLE INTO THE CLOISTER

HUGO VAN DER GOES OF GHENT
1435? – 1482

WHEREIN A RIOTOUS FELLOW OF GHENT BECOMES A MONK TO KEEP HIM FROM THE BOTTLE—BUT CARRIES THE BOTTLE INTO THE CLOISTER

THERE lived about the same time as Memlinc and Dirk Bouts an artist who was for long known, like Hubert van Eyck, by only one painting, his name HUGO VAN DER GOES. Living long, industrious, and prolific, this seems strange even in the bewildered state of chaos created by the insensate follies of the iconoclasts in the record of Flemish art. But Van Mander, the Flemish Vasari, has left us gossip of the man, though he botches the truth sadly enough with fictions, stating that the artist was pupil to Jan van Eyck, whom Ghent never saw again after 1421. The painting, long held to be the artist's only work that had escaped destruction, is *The Nativity* in Santa Maria Nuova at Florence, and certainly holds small hint of Van Eyck's schooling.

To add to the confusion, Vasari calls Van der Goes "Hugo of Antwerp"—Van Mander "a painter of Bruges"—whilst Van Vaernewijk vows him a Dutchman, telling in detail of a *Madonna with St. Catherine and St. Ursula* in the Church of St. Jacob of Ghent being torn to pieces by the iconoclasts in 1566, painted by "Hughe van der Ghoes in Zeelandt, so called in that he lived long in that country, though born at Leyden"; but in a declaration of

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

value made at Louvain in 1479, it is affirmed that, in order to value a picture by Dirk Bouts, the officers of the town sent for "the most noted painter of the surrounding country, a monk, native of Ghent, at that time living in the Rooden Cloestere," a monastery by Brussels. Now Van der Goes, as we shall presently see, took vows at that monastery, and was the only painter who did so. We may therefore give him Ghent for birthplace. Of his birth we know nothing. Though he was not free of the Guild of Ghent until 1465, he may have taken the freedom of Bruges before going to Ghent, though his whereabouts before going thereto are quite unknown—for, if he died an old man in 1482, he may have been a pupil of Jan van Eyck at Bruges, though, as we have seen, his art does not support the old tradition.

Van der Goes was called to Bruges in 1468 to assist Jacques Daret in the decorations for the festival of the marriage of Charles the Bold with Margaret of York; and almost at once thereafter went back to Ghent to do the same service at the "joyful entry" of the princes into that city. He was at that time not widely known, whilst Jacques Daret was famous. This looks like his old age at death being a question. At the same time, it should be said that he had considerable repute in both cities as a painter of decorations on loose cloths for the walls of houses and churches for these pageants that were in the fashion.

In 1472 he presided as elder in the Guild of Ghent; but in 1476 he was persuaded to withdraw from the world in which he lived a riotous career much given to the bottle, and to become a novice in the monastery of Rooden Cloestere, three years before he was called upon to adjudge the value of the work of Dierick Bouts. And we have the gossip of his fellow, Gaspar Offhuys, to reveal the restless

life that he passed as a monk—now stung by a bad conscience, complaining that he was a miserable sinner; now longing to get back to the world and the carouse. His fame when a monk at least was very wide, and persons of the highest rank visited the miserable sinner, with whom he reverted to his drunken carousals and caused much scandal thereby, so that at last the godly monks, to lead him from temptation, sent him off to more pious Cologne, but whilst returning thence he went mad and was only brought back to reason with great difficulty, dying in 1482. A tribute to the personality of the man is that he died deeply regretted by his much-tried brethren.

WHEREIN A RIOTOUS FELLOW OF GHENT BECOMES A MONK TO KEEP HIM FROM THE BOTTLE—BUT CARRIES THE BOTTLE INTO THE CLOISTER

The famed *Altarpiece of S. Maria Nuova* at Florence was painted for the agent of the Medici, one Tommaso Portinari, for the high altar of the hospital of that church which had been founded by his ancestor, Folco Portinari. The centre is an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, almost life-size, with wings or shutters on which are the *Portraits of Tommaso Portinari and two small Sons, presented by their Patron Saints, Matthew and Anthony*; and the *Portraits of the Founder's Wife and Daughter, presented by their Patron Saints, Margaret and Magdalene*. Painted in a cool key, the folds of the draperies stiff and hard, the shadows grey, the handling is solid, and the drawing good. This Portinari was a descendant of that Florentine family to which Dante's Beatrice belonged.

Many of his greatest works, painted for the Netherlands, perished at the vulgar hands of the Iconoclasts. He is known to have designed cartoons for glass-painting, one of which, long given to Jan van Eyck, is in the Church of St. James at Ghent. Holyrood Palace possesses the four side-panels of the *Trinity Altarpiece*, painted by Van der Goes, in which are portraits of James III. of Scotland, his queen Margaret of Denmark, and Sir Edward Bonkil or Boncle.

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And Berlin has lately acquired from Madrid a fine *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Van der Goes.

GERARD VAN DER MEIRE

Gerard van der Meire, in spite of the record of his being free of the Painters' Guild in 1452, and sub-dean of the same in 1472, is now held to be the name of a myth. He had been reputed pupil to Hubert van Eyck, and fathers many pictures in the old records, but he was of no great account, even as a myth. And so useful was he as a name when none other was at hand, that the altarpiece by Dirk Bouts at the National Gallery was even given to him.

JUSTUS OF GHENT

1410 – living in 1475

Working about the same years as Van der Goes was JUSTUS OF GHENT, better known in Italy than in his native land. Frederick of Montefeltro sent for him to paint his duchess, and adorn his library with "figures of philosophers, poets, and doctors of the Church"; and Justus is known to have painted for the brotherhood of Corpus Christi in 1470 the *Communion of the Apostles*, now at Urbino, as may be seen in the payments for the altarpiece to "Giusto da Guanto" in Pungileoni's *Elogio Storico di Giovanni Santi.* The influence over his work is that of Rogier van der Weyden.

NABOR MARTIN

1404 – 1453

Nabor Martin is said to have been the painter of a much damaged *Nativity*, with portraits of Philip the Good and his wife and child, which bears the date 1448—a wall-painting in the "Grande Boucherie" at Ghent.

CHAPTER VII

WHEREIN WE SEE ANOTHER DUTCHMAN TRY TO KEEP THE FLAME OF ART BURNING IN DECAYING BRUGES

GERARD DAVID
1460? – 1523

WHEREIN WE SEE ANOTHER DUTCH-MAN TRY TO KEEP THE FLAME OF ART BURN-ING IN DECAYING BRUGES

THOUGH Memlinc's pupils came to no distinction, his influence was very widespread, and the greatest of his followers was GERARD DAVID.

Gerard David, son of John David, was born at Oudewater in South Holland, in the middle fourteen-hundreds. He came to Bruges in 1483-4, being admitted on the 14th of January 1484 "master-painter" to the Guild of Saints Luke and Eligius, having served his apprenticeship in Haarlem, whether to Dirk Bouts or Gerard of St. John's is not known. When Gerard David came to Bruges, Memlinc was at the height of his fame, and Gerard David fell under his spell. He came to Bruges when at the fulness of her greatness; four years thereafter, on the 31st of January 1488, the citizens revolted against Maximilian, seized him, shut him up until the 16th of May in the mansion of John de Gros, where Gerard David was employed to paint the strong iron gratings before the windows, that the prisoner's feelings might not be racked. Soon after the seizure of Maximilian, the burgomaster, the judge Peter Lanchals, and other magistrates convicted of corruption, were tortured and executed; and the new magistrates, in the name of the suzerain King of France, ordered from Gerard David for

the Town-hall two panels that should be a warning to all magistrates to be honest and just. Gerard David painted the famous *Cambyses and Sisamnes* panels: in the one, Cambyses convicts the unjust judge Sisamnes; in the other, Sisamnes is flayed so that the seat of judgment shall be covered with his skin, that his son, who is appointed judge in his place, may remember the solemnity of his office. In the first panel, to the extreme right of the standing king who ticks off the charge against the seated judge on his fingers and thumb, there stands against the edge of the frame, behind a man in a helmet, the figure of Gerard David himself, his head only seen, showing him to be about thirty. These panels by Gerard David have been given to several artists from time to time.

Gerard was a pious and charitable man, and rapidly rose to honours in his guild. In or about 1496 he married Cornelia Cnoop, daughter of a goldsmith, James Cnoop the younger, then dean of his guild, a native of Middelburg in Zeeland who had come to Bruges. Cornelia was herself a fine painter.

In 1501-2 Gerard David, being dean of his craft, began to paint the altarpiece of *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* for the chapel of St. Anthony in the Church of St. Donatian at Bruges, for one of the Canons, Richard de Visch van der Capelle, who kneels near St. Catherine in the painting. It was finished between 1501 and 1511, and is now in the National Gallery, a fine example of the artist's genius, though much restored. It was long given to Van der Goes.

In 1501 Canon Bernardin Salviati, of the same church as De Visch van der Capelle, commissioned Gerard David to paint the shutters for the reredos of the altar of Saints John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene—which shutters, with

VIII

GERARD DAVID

1460? – 1523

EARLY NETHERLANDISH SCHOOL

"THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST CATHERINE"

(National Gallery)

The Infant Christ is placing the ring on the finger of St Catherine, at whose side kneels Canon Richard van der Capelle, the donor, facing whom are seated St Barbara and St Mary Magdalene.

On wood. 3 ft. 5¼ in. h. × 4 ft. 8¼ in. w. (1·046 × 1·428).

WHEREIN WE SEE ANOTHER DUTCHMAN TRY TO KEEP THE FLAME OF ART BURNING IN DECAYING BRUGES

others in the nave of the church, were sold in a bundle in 1787 as the sacristan complained that they broke the wax candles! One of Salviati's shutters—the only one saved—is now at the National Gallery, being known as *A Canon and his Patron Saints*, Canon Salviati being seen kneeling.

John des Trompes, treasurer of Bruges, ordered from Gerard David the triple altarpiece of *The Baptism of Christ*, now at the Academy Museum at Bruges, having been struck by his two judgment panels for the Town-hall. The centre panel is the *Baptism of Christ*; on the right shutter kneels *John des Trompes with his son Philip* on a grassy mound, St. John the Evangelist guarding him; on the left shutter are the donor's first wife, *Elizabeth van der Meersch kneeling with her four Daughters*, protected by St. Elizabeth of Hungary. John des Trompes' first wife died on the 11th of March 1502; his second wife, *Mary Magdalene Cordier*, was painted probably about 1507-8, on the outside of the left shutter, kneeling with her little girl, protected by the Magdalene, whilst on the outside of the right shutter are the *Virgin and Child*. This altarpiece was painted black and the Ten Commandments set upon the blackness in 1579, to elude the Iconoclasts.

In 1508 Gerard David joined the fraternity of Our Lady of the Dry Tree in the Church of the Grey Friars. The following year, 1509, he painted as a gift for the Carmelite Nuns of Sion at Bruges his famous masterpiece, the altarpiece of *The Madonna and Virgin Saints*, now at Rouen, in which he closely follows a painting of the altarpiece for the Guild of the Three Saints by an unknown artist in 1489, now in the museum at Brussels; and his own portrait, at about forty-five, is seen in the background, and that of his wife, Cornelia Cnoop. Not only did Gerard

David give this great altarpiece to the Sisters, but the nuns being in want, he lent them money free from usury on condition that it was returned when called upon—which money they returned when Gerard David lay dangerously ill on the 7th of the June of 1523, the illness from which he died in the August following.

Madame de Dentergheim of Astene in East Flanders possesses the triple altarpiece of the *Assumption*. Genoa holds the triple altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child*, with *St. Jerome* on the right shutter, and a *Benedictine Saint* on the left. This work was long given to Dürer, but is closely akin to the great Rouen altarpiece.

Vienna possesses the triple altarpiece of *St. Michael*, the right shutter holding *St. Jerome*, the left *St. Anthony of Padua*, the central landscape being carried into each. The outsides of the shutters contain—the right *St. Sebastian* in armour, holding a bow and three arrows; the left *Saint Julitta with a boy at her side.*

Patenir is thought to have painted some of the landscape backgrounds to Gerard's pictures. It must be added that the evidence is very strongly in favour of the triple altarpiece, the *Pietà* of the confraternity of the Holy Blood at Bruges, having been the work of Gerard David.

Gerard David went to Antwerp in 1515, being admitted as "master-painter" to the Guild of St. Luke there, afterwards returning to Bruges.

The Louvre has a panel, the *Marriage at Cana*, with the donor, John van der Straeten, kneeling in the foreground, opposite his wife Anne de la Bye; but the donor was not elected provost as here shown until the May of 1523, when Gerard lay ill, dying on the 13th of August following. The painting was begun by Gerard, and finished by his pupil, Adrian Isenbrandt.

IX

GERARD DAVID

1460? – 1523

EARLY NETHERLANDISH SCHOOL

"THE MARRIAGE AT CANA"

(Les Noces de Cana)

(LOUVRE)

The richly appointed chamber looks out on to the Place du Saint-Sang at Bruges. The Bride is seated on the farther side of the table; towards the left the Virgin bows her head in the direction of the Christ. In the left-hand corner kneels the Donor, wearing the costume of a Provost of the Company of the Holy Blood; on the right kneels the Female Donor.

Painted in oil on panel. 3 ft. 2 in. × 4 ft. 2½ in. (0·96 × 1·28).

WHEREIN WE SEE ANOTHER DUTCHMAN TRY TO KEEP THE FLAME OF ART BURNING IN DECAYING BRUGES

Vienna has two half-length portraits by Gerard, a *Young Man* and his *Wife*.

Gerard David was an exquisite miniaturist, the Academy at Bruges possessing his *Preaching of John the Baptist* and *Baptism of Christ*.

The Willett collection at Brighton contains three fine examples of the art of CORNELIA CNOOP, wife of Gerard David, long given to Hans Memlinc—the famous miniature triptych of *The Virgin and Child*.

The famous *Grimani Breviary* at Venice, wrought at Bruges in these years, holds seven designs by Gerard David: (1) *Group of Virgin Saints*, (2) *St. Anthony*, (3) *St. John the Baptist*, (4) *St. Mary Magdalene*, (5) *St. Christopher*, (6) *St. Michael*, (7) *St. Francis of Assisi*; and three others are probably by him: *The Visitation*, the *St. Jerome*, and *Our Lady and Child*.

Gerard David died on the 13th of August 1523. His only child Barbara was married when he died. His widow, the gifted Cornelia Cnoop, married again in 1529, and disappeared from Bruges. Gerard developed the promise of painting which he took over from Memlinc and Bouts, and advanced it a step forward towards a more modern fulfilment.

FOLLOWERS OF GERARD DAVID

Gerard David completes the high achievement of Bruges in the fourteen-hundreds. One of the best of his pupils was ADRIAN ISENBRANDT (148 ?-1551)—though pupil is a questionable term, since, during the whole of Gerard's life in Bruges from 1484 to 1523 no single apprentice of his appears on the books of the guild—but assistants he had several, and Isenbrandt was one of them. Isenbrandt

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

came to Bruges in 1510, was admitted to the freedom on November 29, and wrought there for forty years until his death in the July of 1551. Coming to repute for his painting of the nude and for the expression of the face, he worked much for Spain, sending mostly to Bilbao. For Notre Dame at Bruges he painted a large triple altarpiece, presented in 1530-31 by Barbara le Maire, widow of George van de Velde, a wealthy clothier. The right panel shows the *Virgin in Grief*, the left (in the Brussels Museum) shows Van de Velde and his wife with their nine sons and eight daughters all kneeling, protected by the name-patrons of Van de Velde and his helpmate, the worthy cloth-merchant having died in 1528. Count Arco-Valley possesses a *Virgin and Child in Landscape, with Saints Catherine, Barbara, Dorothy, Margaret and Agnes*, which pays homage to Memlinc's Louvre *Du Celier Madonna*. The Lotman triptych of the *Virgin and Child*; the Northbrook panel of the *Virgin and Child* in a garden, beneath a canopy; the Von Kaufmann two shutters to a triptych of the *Donor, Wife, and Children protected by St. John and St. Barbara*; the finely composed Northbrook *Vision of St. Ildephonsus*, bishop of Toledo, and Lord Northbrook's other *Virgin and Child*; and the De Somzée *Mary Magdalene in the Desert*, are his chief known works. The Colnaghi *St. Luke* holding a panel of the Virgin and Child is probably the portrait of Isenbrandt by himself. The Cathedral at Bruges possesses his triptych of the *Presentation in the Temple*.

Another assistant to Gerard David was AMBROSIUS BENSON or BERSON, whose most important works are at Antwerp, the Prado, and in the Le Roy collection at Paris.

Working at Bruges, in these same years of the early

fifteen-hundreds, was JOHN PREVOST DE MONS, from Mons in Hainault, born thereat in 1462, who went to Antwerp in 1493, was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke, and shortly afterwards went to Bruges and settled there, marrying an elderly lady of means, Joan de Quaroube, widow of SIMON MARMION the miniaturist; she died in 1506, and Prevost married three times again before dying in the January of 1529. His only known picture is *The Last Judgment*, painted in 1525 for the Town-hall. Like De la Pasture and Gossart, Prevost was a Walloon. The *Virgin and Child* in the National Gallery, given to Mostaert, would seem to be by Prevost.

WHEREIN WE SEE ANOTHER DUTCHMAN TRY TO KEEP THE FLAME OF ART BURNING IN DECAYING BRUGES

Another master amongst the followers of Gerard David, and a remarkable one, was ALBERT CORNELIS who died in 1532, known only by one very fine painting, the *Coronation of the Virgin*, in the Church of St. Jacques at Bruges.

The cathedral possesses a *Mater Dolorosa* long held to be by Van Eyck, owing to the cipher signature, but now known to have been painted by JOHN VAN EECKE or EECKELE, who settled at Bruges, being admitted to the freedom of the Guild of St. Luke in the September of 1534, dying thereat in November 1561. Tournai has a fine panel by him of the *Vision of St. Bernard.*

The Black Sisters of Bruges possess a panel of *St. Nicholas of Tolentino*, on the outside of which is painted an Austin friar, *Roger De Jonghe* (born 1482, died 1579) at prayer, which is a remarkably brilliant portrait by an unknown artist of this period.

At Chatsworth is an excellent *Departure of a Saint* by a Netherlandish painter of this time, probably settled in England.

The supreme effort of Bruges had shot its bolt by the

THE EARLY NETHER-LANDISH PAINTERS

time that Gerard David died; and Antwerp grew to prominence instead. But during the Transition years of the fifteen-hundreds, marked by the usurpation of Flemish art by Italian ideals, Bruges brought forth still some artists of considerable gifts before her candle guttered out, as we shall see in the survey of the Transition years to which we now come.

1500

CHAPTER VIII

WHEREIN QUENTIN MATSYS CREATES A SCHOOL IN ANTWERP, AND FURTHER THRUSTS FORWARD FLEMISH ART FROM PRIMITIVE TOWARDS FULLER UTTERANCE

WHEREIN QUENTIN MATSYS CREATES A SCHOOL IN ANT-WERP, AND FURTHER THRUSTS FORWARD FLEMISH ART FROM PRIMITIVE TOWARDS FULLER UTTER-ANCE

We have seen the cradle of so-called Flemish art to have been rocked in the city of Bruges. But mishap had fallen upon Bruges. As the fourteen-hundreds ran out and 1500 came in, chimed by her many bells, the sands also ran in, and, with much neglected mud, silted up the waters that flowed under the bridges of the old city. So, with the shallowing of her river, her old-time greatness passed from her to Antwerp, her rival in Flanders; and art followed wealth. Her mighty trade went to Antwerp city; so, as the fifteen-hundreds came in, fortune poured out her abundant largesse to Antwerp in astounding profusion, so that her commercial might became near as vast as that of Venice, from which city upon the waters her art and wealth were departed by the time Tintoretto died in 1594. The joy-bells that pealed for the marriage of the last of the Burgundians —the marriage of Mary, daughter and heiress to Charles the Bold, to Maximilian of Austria—tolled as well the death-knell of Bruges' fortune. The struggle of the cities against the Austrian's greed sent the merchants to the most settled of the cities, Antwerp. So the ill wind that blew the sands into the waters of Bruges and sent the swans to take the place of shipping, blew the traffic of the

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

world to Antwerp. And Antwerp during the fifteen-hundreds was to know the glory of Quentin Matsys and Patenir, and during the sixteen-hundreds the splendour of Rubens and Van Dyck and the Teniers.

There came to Antwerp in 1497 from Louvain a locksmith's son, who was to bring a complete change over the whole achievement of Netherlandish painting in the fifteen-hundreds, his name QUENTIN MATSYS.

QUENTIN MATSYS
1466 – 1530

QUENTIN MATSYS, or METSYS, or MASSYS, born at Louvain in 1466 to a locksmith of that town, was the younger of two sons, of whom the elder, Josse Matsys, followed the calling of smith, clockmaker, and architect. Quentin was prenticed to a painter in Louvain, 'tis shrewdly suspected to Dirk Bouts, being admitted to the Guild of St. Luke in Louvain in 1491. Just before Memlinc died, Matsys settled at Antwerp and founded the School of Antwerp, becoming the great rival of Gerard David, who was at his height in the rival city of Bruges. He created a realistic style in marked contrast with that of the Bruges painters of his day, and set up in Antwerp an artistic aim and intention that were to conquer Flanders. The blacksmith's son was soon famous, and numbered amongst his friends Erasmus and Dürer.

The art of Quentin Matsys begins a new phase in the achievement of Flanders, just as the art of Gerard David and his followers completes the phase of the fourteen-hundreds. He paints with all the delicacy and tenderness of colour and skill and careful finish of the past; but he introduces a humour and a grip of character that he never hesitates to push towards caricature.

WHEREIN QUENTIN MATSYS CREATES A SCHOOL IN ANTWERP, AND FURTHER THRUSTS FORWARD FLEMISH ART FROM PRIMITIVE TOWARDS FULLER UTTERANCE

His earliest known work is the large triple altarpiece painted in 1509 for the Church of St. Peter at Louvain, now at Brussels, known as the *Holy Kindred*, and shortly afterwards the large triple altarpiece of the *Descent from the Cross*, his masterpiece, ordered by the Guild of Joiners at Antwerp in 1508, in which he displays a dramatic power, pathos, and feeling, wedded to a mastery of colour and light and shade most remarkable, showing that Flemish art has advanced at a stride beyond the limitations of the achievement and capacity of Bruges. In the right wing, the head of John the Baptist is placed on the table before Herod; in the left, John the Evangelist is being boiled in a cauldron of oil. The Louvre possesses the famous *Money-changer and his Wife* (signed 1518), in which Quentin Matsys creates the type of so-called *genre* picture which immediately came into a great vogue and was to be the inspiration of Brueghel and Teniers in Flemish paintings, and of Brouwer, Ostade, and Jan Steen in Holland. The National Gallery has a beautiful *Crucifixion* by Matsys, there attributed to Patenir—a late replica of the Calvary belonging to Prince Liechtenstein, of which the first design is the fine central panel of the triptych in Antwerp belonging to the Mayer-Van den Bergh family. Berlin possesses his exquisitely tender *Virgin and Child*, in which the Mother kisses the Child as He throws His arms about her neck. Frankfort, Munich, and Venice possess great portraits by him.

No man has been more copied than Quentin Matsys. And one must always remember that he had a large workshop with many assistants, for whom he probably but furnished the designs. Of such works, likely enough, is the double picture of the *Christ* and the *Virgin* at the National Gallery.

In 1517 Matsys is said to have painted *Erasmus* and *Egidius*, portraits which Erasmus gave to Sir Thomas More; it was probably through Erasmus that Dürer came to know Matsys when he visited Flanders—the portraits at Longford are held to be the *Egidius* by Matsys, the *Erasmus* by Holbein. The famous *Misers* at Windsor is supposed to be a copy by his son, Jan Matsys.

Quentin Matsys had two sons who both came to considerable distinction as painters. JAN MATSYS, born in 1509, followed his father. CORNELIS MATSYS, born in 1512, came under the influence of Joachim de Patenir, of whom more presently.

MARINUS VAN ROYMERSWAELE

1497? – 1567

The closest imitator of Quentin Matsys of all his following was MARINUS DE SEEW, or MARINUS VAN ROYMERSWAELE, who is known as his "double," and who, though born in Dutch Zeeland and a countryman of Mabuse, and working chiefly in Zeeland, is of the Antwerp School. He was working from 1521 to 1560. The National Gallery has a painting typical of his style, the *Two Bankers (or Usurers) in their Office*. He painted money-changers and shopkeepers again and again—*Paying Rent* (1542) at Munich, *Money-changer and his Wife* at Munich; repeated in 1541, now at Dresden; the same subject at Antwerp; the same dated 1538 at Madrid; and the similar subject at the National Gallery.

Another follower was JAN VAN HEMESSEN of Antwerp (1504?-1566). And Quentin Matsys was to have in his son, JAN MATSYS (1509-1573), a great imitator of his "Banker" pieces.

X

QUENTIN MATSYS

1466 - 1530

EARLY FLEMISH SCHOOL

"THE BANKER AND HIS WIFE"

(Le Banquier et sa femme)

(LOUVRE)

Painted in oil on panel. Signed on a roll of paper in the background: "QUENTIN MATSYS, SCHILDER, 1514." 2 ft. $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. × 1 ft. $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0·74 × 0·60).

OF PAINTING

PATENIR

1490? – 1524

WHEREIN QUENTIN MATSYS CREATES A SCHOOL IN ANTWERP, AND FURTHER THRUSTS FORWARD FLEMISH ART FROM PRIMITIVE TOWARDS FULLER UTTERANCE

JOACHIM PATENIR, or PATINIR, or PATENIER, the so-called "Father of Landscape Painting," was born at Dinant, in the valley of the Meuse, amid the hill country of the Ardennes, and, though not apprenticed at Antwerp, joined the guild of that city in 1515, having been thought to have served under Gerard David at Bruges. On losing his first wife he married again, Albert Dürer being at his second marriage in 1521. The friendship between Patenir and Quentin Matsys must have been close, as, at his early death in 1524, his two children went under the guardianship of Matsys. Dürer has left us a portrait of Patenir, and immortalised him in his diary as "Joachim, the good landscape-painter."

Joachim Patenir was to come down to tradition as a sad drunkard and a harsh fellow—probably owing to some gossip of Van Mander's as to the ill-treatment of Franz Mostaert during his master's drunken moods; but Mostaert was only free of the Guild of Antwerp in 1553, nearly thirty years after Patenir died. Mostaert was probably the pupil of *Henry* Patenir, who was free of the guild in 1535. Patenir created a new style of painting in that he now made the landscape all-important, making the figures that gave the name to the picture a small part of the achievement. Madrid possesses by repute six of his works, including a *Rest of the Virgin during the Flight into Egypt*, of very normal Patenir type. Brussels has his reputed earlier *Virgin of the Seven Sorrows*, a Pietà in which the meagre body of the dead Christ is held in the Virgin's lap. The Kaufmann *Rest of the Holy Family in the Flight into Egypt* is a fine example of the artist. The *Crucifixion* at the National Gallery, given to Patenir, is by

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

Quentin Matsys, though it may be that Patenir painted the landscape for it. Herr von Kaufmann possesses the fine triptych of *The Flight into Egypt*, and Vienna a signed *Baptism of Christ*.

Working in Antwerp in these years were several painters about whom all record is lost. The artist known as the "*Master of the Death of the Virgin*," from his two altarpieces at Cologne and Munich, is supposed to have been Joos VAN CLEEF (or VAN CLEEVE), THE ELDER, born at Cleef about 1485, and free of the Antwerp Guild in 1511, dying in that city in 1525.

CHAPTER IX

WHEREIN THE ITALIAN SPECTACLES ARE BROUGHT INTO FLANDERS

HERRI MET DE BLES

1480? – 1550

Of Patenir's pupils, as Van Mander's gossip tells us, was Herri met de Bles ("Herri with the Forelock"), who went into Italy and caught the Italian style, bringing it back with him to Flanders. Herri met de Bles had come out of the Meuse country, like his master Patenir, having been born at Bouvignes, which lies across the river opposite Dinant.

Herri met de Bles lived at Malines and Liège until about 1550, and may be said to be of the School of Liège. His art was very popular, and he had hosts of imitators. The National Gallery has a *Magdalene* by him, which is typical of his art. His pleasing works, his richly bejewelled Saints and elaborate Virgins and Holy Families, had a wide vogue. He is often known as Civetta (little owl) from his signature, an owl on a branch. His works are rarer than the many attributions would lead one to expect. His only signed work is an *Adoration of the Magi* in Munich.

The early Flemish School, or what are called the Flemish Primitives, by 1500 had fallen into convention and lacked the old national fire. It was to be further debauched by the Italian imitation that then came into the vogue, though at first a few artists had innate genius enough not to be wholly swamped by it; such were De Bles and

A HISTORY

MABUSE

1470–1533

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

JAN GOSSAERT, better known as MABUSE, having been born at Maubeuge in Hainault, indeed, he signs "Johannes Malbodius," shares with Matsys the early glory of Antwerp. Our gossip, Van Mander, records of Mabuse that he was the earliest of those "who brought to Flanders the habit, then peculiar to Italy, of painting nudities." His *Adam and Eve* at Hampton Court show Italian striving.

Mabuse was free of the guild in 1503, working at Antwerp until 1507; and in 1508 went to Italy in the suite of Philip the Bastard, natural son of Philip the Good, who from being High Admiral in Zeeland became Bishop of Utrecht. The art of Mabuse reveals the impression made upon him by his stay therein, but he kept the exquisite Netherlandish finish, and was not wholly debauched by the alien vision. He became Court-painter to Philip the Bastard of Burgundy, who was created Bishop of Utrecht in 1517, and died in 1524. Mabuse died at Antwerp in 1533. An absolutely unchallenged work by him is the *Saint Donatian* at Tournai. Jan Gossaert of Maubeuge was also the creator of the great Carlisle *Adoration of the Kings*, the National Gallery *Portrait of a Man in a Black Fur-lined Coat with a Rosary*, and the exquisite girl-portrait of *Jacqueline de Bourgoyne* in the same gallery, as also the *Magdalene* therein given to the "Antwerp School"; whilst Hampton Court possesses the *Three Children of Christian II., King of Denmark*, by Mabuse —those children of whom the sister, the young Christina, was to be painted afterwards by Holbein as his famous *Duchess of Milan* at the National Gallery. The Louvre has a portrait by Mabuse of *Carondelet*, Archbishop of Palermo, on a double picture painted in 1517. Unfortunately the very genius of Mabuse did more to debauch the

XI

MABUSE

1470 – 1533

THE ITALIANISED FLEMISH TRANSITION

"PORTRAIT OF A MAN WITH A ROSARY"

(National Gallery)

On wood. 2 ft. 3 in. h. × 1 ft. 7 in. w. (0·68 × 0·48).

art of Flanders during the fifteen-hundreds than that of any other man. He started the Flemish stammering in a foreign speech which was neither Italian nor good honest Flemish. In portraiture alone, as in Italy after Michelangelo died, the native genius was to flame unsullied. And this, which we may call the Transition Period, was to see fine portraiture by Mabuse, by Pourbus, and by Antonio More.

WHEREIN THE ITALIAN SPECTACLES ARE BROUGHT INTO FLANDERS

But the glory of Michelangelo and Raphael had now become bandied about through Flanders—and instead of being proud to be Flemings and themselves, it became their ambition to be called the "Flemish Raphael," or the "Flemish Michelangelo," or what not. These men stooped to try and see life through Italian spectacles.

The School of Antwerp fell into the decline of the middle fifteen-hundreds, that overcame all the other Flemish schools; but before leaving the early Renaissance in Flanders, it is well to glance at the achievement of Brussels during these early fifteen-hundreds; and then awhile to Holland.

Rogier van der Weyden had lived in Brussels from 1450 to 1464, the year of his death. He naturally strongly influenced all future endeavour; and his many pupils and followers became largely his imitators. COLIN DE COTER, thanks to his signature on two paintings, is known to us. The Louvre possesses a *Magdalene* by him; a Belgian town holds the other; both prove him a follower of Rogier.

The next artist of Brussels to emerge is the Italian-lisping

VAN ORLEY

1491? – 1542

BERNARD VAN ORLEY of Brussels is chiefly remembered as a designer of tapestries. He lived in the years of Mabuse.

PAINTING

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

The son of a painter, one VALENTIN VAN ORLEY, he fell under the Italian glamour, and became subject to Raphael. Liverpool possesses his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt.* Brussels holds his chief works, the affected Italianesque affairs, such as his Michelangelesque *Trials of Job.* He, like Mabuse and Mostaert of Haarlem, was from 1518 Court-painter to Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, of whom he painted several *Portraits.* On the death of Margaret of Austria, Van Orley kept the same post under her successor, Mary of Hungary (1524-1535). A pupil of Raphael himself, it was to Van Orley that Raphael entrusted the care of the weaving of the famous tapestries at Brussels from his Cartoons now at South Kensington. Hampton Court possesses eight tapestries of the *History of Abraham* by Van Orley. Dürer visited Brussels in 1521 and has left us a painted portrait of Van Orley, now at Dresden.

Amongst the several minor artists in Brussels at this time were the members of the Van Coninxloo family.

MICHAEL VAN COXCYEN, called COXIS, born at Mechlin in 1499, where he died in 1592, was a pupil of Van Orley, whom he succeeded as Court-painter to Mary of Hungary, and became known as the "Flemish Raphael." He copied the Van Eyck *Adoration of the Lamb* for Philip II of Spain.

At BRUGES, though 1500 sounded the end of its greatest endeavour, there were artists who strove during the fifteen-hundreds to bring back glory to the dying city: LANCELOT BLONDEEL (1495-1561), designer of the chimney-piece in the Council Hall, and the painters of the family of POURBUS and of CLAEIS.

CHAPTER X

WHEREIN WE TURN ASIDE INTO THE HOLLAND OF THE EARLY FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

THE PAINTERS OF HAARLEM

WHEREIN WE TURN ASIDE INTO THE HOLLAND OF THE EARLY FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

PASSING to the Dutch Primitives, though many of the so-called Flemish Primitives were Dutchmen, from the time of Rogier van der Weyden the Dutch had created remarkable art. This Dutch achievement remained pure and distinct. We have followed the career of ALBERT VAN OUWATER in Haarlem in Van der Weyden's day, creating landscape and founding the Dutch School; we have seen his pupil, GERARD OF HAARLEM (Geertgen tot S. Jans), born about 1465, and dying in young manhood in 1493, continue the great landscape tradition, as Vienna and the Louvre bear witness. Ouwater had another famous disciple in HIERONYMUS BOSCH VAN AEKEN (1450-62-1516), celebrated for his weird and fantastic paintings of *Hell*, and remarkable for his realism, for his caricature. His great pupil was PETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER. Typical of Hieronymus Bosch is his *Fall of the Damned* at Brussels. At Calcar in Westphalia is an altarpiece (1505-1508) by JAN JOEST of Haarlem.

THE PAINTERS OF LEYDEN

At Leyden was another centre of Dutch art.

CORNELIS ENGELBRECHTSEN (1468-1533), lived and wrought his art in Leyden. Of his scarce works, the

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

masterpiece is the large and remarkable triple altarpiece of *The Crucifixion* at Leyden. He came in later life under the influence of his pupil, Lucas van Leyden, and died in the same year as he.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN
1494 – 1533

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN is famous as the greatest etcher of his age in the Netherlands. He was a somewhat hard painter, but he was gifted with all the Netherlandish qualities of finish, and was a fine draughtsman. The well-known Pembroke *The Card Players* is by him. He was pupil to Engelbrechtsen.

In Amsterdam the best painter of these years was JACOB CORNELIS VAN OOSTSANAN, who wrought his art in the time of Engelbrechtsen and Lucas van Leyden, dying in 1533, the same year as they.

Of the men of the early fifteen-hundreds, the best-known artists were JAN SCOREL and JAN MOSTAERT.

JAN SCOREL
1495 – 1562

JAN SCOREL (or SCOREEL) OF HAARLEM was the pupil of Mabuse or Oostsanan. He was the first Dutchman to bring the Italian style into Holland. Stopping at Rome on his pilgrimage to Palestine, just as his countryman was raised to the Popedom as Adrian IV (1521), he painted him, and was given office at the Vatican. On the death of the Pope, Scorel came back to Holland; he was a canon of Utrecht when he died there, at the Town-hall of which place is his *Virgin and Child in a Landscape, with Donors.*

OF PAINTING

MOSTAERT

1474 – 1556

WHEREIN WE TURN ASIDE INTO THE HOLLAND OF THE EARLY FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

JAN MOSTAERT of Haarlem is now identified as the so-called "Maître d'Oultremont." Mostaert was long used as a peg on which to hang any puzzling picture by a Flemish painter of these years who baffled discovery, and Waagen's blunder in the famous Kugler handbook spread widely the confusion of his works with those of Isenbrandt, who wrought his art, as we have seen, in the same years. Waagen, a keen student in his day, was fond of putting any doubtful picture to Mostaert's credit—or discredit.

Mostaert's name is first recorded in 1500 as being engaged to paint the shutters of an altarpiece for St. Bavon in Haarlem. He was painter to Margaret of Austria. His art is clearly affected by the achievement of Bruges, whether in his sacred pictures or his portraits. Unlike Bouts and Gerard David, Mostaert remained at Haarlem.

Another unnamed artist of these years is the clumsily titled "MASTER OF THE FEMALE HALF FIGURES," by whom there is a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* at the National Gallery in London, there given to Scorel.

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CHAPTER XI

WHEREIN, AMIDST THE GENERAL ROUT OF THE LATE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS, A PEASANT HOLDS THE PATH

THE EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTERS

THUS, when the chimes struck the hours of the middle fifteen-hundreds, art in Flanders seemed in collapse. The Italian spectacles threatened the whole Netherlandish vision. And at the end of the century all seemed lost, except for a genius here and there who arose to utter his native tongue.

MARTIN VAN VEEN (1498-1574), pupil to Scorel, was but the type of this decay, and LAMBERT SUSTERMANN, called LAMBERT LOMBARD (1506-1566), of Liège.

FRANS FLORIS

1516? – 1570

FRANS DE VRIENDT, better known as FRANS FLORIS, was the type of the Italianised Fleming. Pupil to Lambert Lombard, he exercised wide influence. Coming to great vogue and considerable wealth, Frans Floris lived in princely fashion. Frans, an Antwerp man, came of artistic stock; his brother, CORNELIS DE VRIENDT, was the leading architect of Antwerp. He was a jovial blade this Frans, who loved to drink his companions under the table—whose ambition was to be called "the Michelangelo of the North." He knew more about anatomy and swelling muscles than about art; yet he could paint a great portrait, as in *The Falconer* at Brunswick.

Of his hundred and twenty 'prentices was MARTEN DE Vos (1532-1603), also of Antwerp, who poured forth works, some of huge size. He went to Venice to Tintoretto's mastership. De Vos was much engraved. Other pupils of Frans Floris were the FRANCKENS (Jerome, Franz, and Ambrose), of whom the sons of Franz Franckens, THOMAS JEROME FRANCKENS II (1578-1623), and FRANZ FRANCKENS II carried on the tradition.

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Out of the general collapse of the fifteen-hundreds came a flash or so that hinted of the great outburst that was to be in the century near at hand.

JOOS VAN CLEEVE

Of the portrait-painters were Joos VAN CLEEVE, who is said to have gone to Spain and France, and certainly went to England, and came to fame in an art akin to that of Antonio Moro and Holbein, working about 1530 to 1550. Windsor has his portraits of *Himself* and *His Wife*. His work is often mistaken for that of Holbein.

The best portrait-painter of these later transition years in Flanders was

ANTHONŸ MORE

1525? – 1578

SIR ANTONIS MORE, or Antonio Mor or Moro, was born at Utrecht in 1525, or, as it is also held, in 1512. He seems to have tried every spelling of his name. ANTHONY or ANTHONIS MOR, better known by his English name of Sir Antonio More, though it is not known when or how he was knighted, was the pupil of the Dutchman, Jan Scorel—he was born at Utrecht, according to Van Mander in 1525, since he makes the artist die in 1581 at fifty-six—and as Antonio More is free of the guild in 1547, 1525 was

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probably about the year of his birth; but we know that More was dead by 1578, so, if he were fifty-six, his year of birth would be nearer 1521. He wandered to Italy and debauched his art for subject-painting. But in portraiture he remained great. The National Gallery holds a *Portrait of a Man* by him; and his fine *Portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham* is at the National Portrait Gallery. More, whilst young, passed into the service of the Emperor Charles v, Titian's imperial friend, at whose command he went in 1552 to Madrid and Lisbon, and in 1553 to England to paint his famous *Portrait of Queen Mary*, who made him her Court-painter. His Flemish blood kept him true to truth; and he painted her as he saw her, tricking her out in splendid robes to mitigate the truth. Holbein had brought to England a superb art of portraiture, and More maintained the glory of the tradition. On the death of Mary, in 1558, More went to Spain in the service of her husband, Philip II, entering Spain for the second time. It was Antonio More who shocked the rigid etiquette of the Inquisition by impatiently rapping the knuckles of the king when Philip entered his studio and put his hand on More's shoulder whilst he was painting. He had to flee the country under the care of Philip, who dared not interfere with the dreaded Inquisition. But he left his portrait of Mary behind—and it was to have a prodigious influence over Spanish art. More settled in Antwerp, and refused to budge therefrom, though earnestly beseeched to return to Spain by Philip. He had painted many portraits in England, for which he received high pay. Berlin possesses his early half-length portraits of two *Canons of Utrecht*, dated 1544; Vienna a masterpiece in his *Cardinal Granvelle* (1549), which led to his introduction to Charles v; Madrid is rich in his portraits, as is Vienna; and private collections in

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England boast several, of which is the fine *Portrait of Himself* at Althorp. The Hague, Paris, Brussels, St. Petersburg, and Cassel all hold fine examples. And the Uffizi at Florence has the well-known *Portrait of Himself*. Dignified and true to life, Anthony More's portraiture stands out as the supreme achievement of the Flemish School of the Transition years. More died at Antwerp between 1576 and 1578, dying about the year that a child whom they christened Peter Paul Rubens was born, destined to be the glory of Antwerp.

NICHOLAS LUCIDEL or NEUFCHATEL was another Flemish painter of Antwerp who fell into Italianism, even to calling himself Novo-CASTELLO—he was a portrait-painter of some gifts.

PEDRO CAMPAÑA was another Flemish painter—from Brussels—who settled in a foreign land, going, as we have seen, to Spain, and settling in Seville, where most of his works are to be seen in the churches and cathedral. He was imbued with the Venetian aim, and helped to further the traditional tendencies in Spain.

CATHERINA VAN HEMESSEN, one of the few women who came to repute in painting, was another Flemish artist who settled abroad, going to Spain. Daughter to a mediocre artist of Antwerp, and married to an organist, she caught the favour of Mary, the Governess of the Netherlands, with whom she and her husband went to Spain.

POURBUS
1510? – 1584

A brilliant man, PETER POURBUS, son of JOHN POURBUS of Gouda, painted remarkable works, distinguished for their fine views of old Bruges in their backgrounds, during the later part of the fifteen-hundreds; his triptych of *Our Lady*

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of Seven Dolors, painted in 1556, shows him an ardent admirer of Memlinc and Gerard David.

The Wallace Collection holds an *Allegorical Love Feast* by Peter Pourbus which shows the new drift of Flemish art, and hints at the coming of old PEETER BRUEGHEL. Pourbus is to be most fully seen in the churches of Bruges, and some of his shrewd portraits at Vienna. The Wallace has his cold portrait of his son *Franz Pourbus*. Peter Pourbus, with the CLAEISSENS, more particularly PETER CLAEISSENS, whose works are many in Bruges, carried on the great tradition of Bruges and relit awhile her splendid achievement into the early sixteen-hundreds, when the artistic endeavour of that city guttered out and was no more.

PETER POURBUS was born at Gouda early in the fifteen-hundreds, settled at Bruges in 1540, entered the Guild of St. Luke in 1543, and died at Bruges in 1584. His son and pupil was FRANZ POURBUS (1542-1580), who afterwards went to Franz Floris. Wandering from Bruges to Antwerp in 1564, he entered the Guild thereat in 1589; he came to fame in portraiture. His son, FRANZ POURBUS THE YOUNGER (1570-1622), became portrait-painter to the Court of Henry IV of France.

WILLIAM KEY, born at Breda in 1520, died 1568, came to distinction in portraiture.

GUALDORP GORTZIUS, called GELDORP, born at Louvain 1553, was a pupil of Franz Franck the Elder and of Franz Pourbus the Elder, settling later at Cologne. Another portrait-painter was CORNELIS KETEL, born at Gouda in 1548, said to have painted Queen Elizabeth of England; MARK GERARD of Bruges became a favourite portrait-painter at the English Court of Elizabeth, dying in 1635. PAUL VAN SOMER, born at Antwerp in 1570, died 1624—

worked for years in England. Panshanger has his portrait of *Lord Bacon.*

Of the Dutch portrait-painters of these years were MICHAEL JANSE MIEREVELT, born at Delft in 1567, died 1641—a good colourist with a simple feeling for truth. His best pupils were his son PETER MIEREVELT and PAUL MOREELSE—PAUL MOREELSE, born at Utrecht in 1571, died there in 1638—JOHANN WILHELM DELFT and JACOB DELFT, who painted a well-known female portrait now at Frankfort.

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DANIEL MYTENS
1580-90? – 1656?

DANIEL MYTENS, born at The Hague, of which town he became a guild member in 1610, is famous as having become Court-painter to James I and Charles I of England until 1633, the year before which he was thrust aside by the glamour of the genius of Van Dyck. Mytens painted the celebrities of his age in England in a decorative simple style and charming colour, and his silvery flesh-painting is very characteristic of his art. His most famous portraits are of *Charles I* and *Henrietta Maria* in their younger days.

Of CORNELIUS JANSEN we shall see more later.

But the lamp of Flemish art was being kept clean the while. It is true that PIETER AERTSZEN, "LANGE PIER" (1507?-1575), went to Amsterdam and lived his life thereat; but he was a man of Antwerp, and his kitchen-pictures are free from all Italian taint; and he "made school." Bassano had done the same for Venice; and the Netherlandish men loved the art of Bassano.

Aertszen's nephew and pupil, JOACHIM BEUCKELAER (1530-1573?), kept the faith; and JAN SANDERS VAN

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HEMESSEN made his religious pictures but an excuse to the same end. They foretell BROUWER and TENIERS as we shall see.

But the greatest of them all was PETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER, "Peasant Brueghel," painter of the peasant, the realist of this age, a master of landscape, of pure original vision, and creator of a great school.

Rubens admired old Peter Brueghel, who influenced him; and with Jan Brueghel, the "Velvet" lover of fine clothes, we shall see Rubens Court-painter to Albert and Isabella, and at Velvet Brueghel's death in 1625 guardian to his children.

PETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER

1525-30 – 1569

The supreme genius of the late fifteen-hundreds—living in these Transition years when the Flemish art was decaying under Italian academism—who refused to wear Italian spectacles and thereby created great art, was PETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER, known as PEASANT BRUEGHEL. His name is spelt BREUGHEL and BRUEGHEL indifferently; as the Christian name Peter is spelt Pieter, Peeter, and Peter at will. Whilst Italianism was wrecking Flemish art, Peasant Brueghel kept alive the splendour of Flanders and carried on the torch of genius. Looking to the life about him for his subjects and his models, he uttered the moods of Nature undefiled. He went to the feasts and junketings and merry-makings of the peasants, and wrought his impressions of the life of the country-folk with consummate skill. And his art gives us the very life of his day, the very walk and manner of the clumsy villagers. Born in 1525 in the village of Brueghel, on the banks of the Dommel, south of Bois-le-duc, or as is held by others at

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Breda in 1530, was Peasant Brueghel, to tillers of the soil and cow-herds; and his art is fragrant of their bucolic life. From PETER KOECK of Alost he learnt the mysteries of his craft; and in the learning he came to love Koeck's little daughter. Koeck had been pupil to Van Orley, and had ventured into Italy. From Koeck Brueghel went to the studio of JEROME COCK. But from these men he only learnt the tricks of his trade; it was to Jerome Bosch that he looked for inspiration—and Bosch had come from Bois-le duc, hard by. Nature, however, was his supreme teacher. Brueghel at eighteen wandered into France, and on into Italy; but he went only to Nature wherever he wandered, even in his trudge to Naples. Coming back he settled at Antwerp, and then became a friend of Jan Bankert. In 1551 he was free of the Guild of St. Luke. The quiet, silent man was given to practical joking. At Antwerp he took up with a young girl, his servant and mistress, whom he would have married had she not been a confirmed liar; and finding he could not cure her, he at last left her. His old flame, Koeck's daughter, was then living at Brussels, so he sought her out; but she refused to marry him unless he settled in Brussels, so to Brussels he went in 1563, and was married.

Of rich and humorous imagination, a fine painter, Brueghel was typically Netherlandish in his art. Vienna is rich in his works, the most famous being his winter *Landscape with Huntsmen*, the *Village Fair*, the *Peasant's Wedding*, and *The Shepherd*; indeed it is at Vienna that his great gifts as a colourist can alone be fully realised—his movement, his comedy, his large grip of life.

His son, PETER BRUEGHEL THE YOUNGER, known as "Hell Brueghel" from his delight in that fantastic subject (1564-1638), did not win to the great gifts of his father;

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but his younger brother, JAN BRUEGHEL, known as "Velvet Brueghel" (1568-1625), came to distinction as painter of delicate landscapes, and was to assist Rubens in several works, as in the *Garden of Eden* at The Hague; he is also said to have painted the landscapes to several pictures by Rottenhammer, the German artist, when in Italy.

JOHANNES STRAET, called STRADANUS, born at Bruges in 1535, went early to Florence, where he lived thereafter, dying there in 1618—he was assistant to Vasari. BARTHOLOMEW SPRANGER, born at Antwerp 1546, died 1625; HEINRICH GOLTZIUS (1558-1617); CAREL VAN MANDER (1548-1608) is more famous as the art-historian of the north than as an artist; PETER DE WITTE, of Bruges, went as a boy with his parents to Florence, became assistant to Vasari, being known as PIETRO CANDIDO or PETER CANDIT—all these were of this period—sometimes painting a fine portrait nevertheless. Of the historical painters were OTHO VAN VEEN, called VAENIUS, born at Leyden 1558, dying at Brussels 1629, steeped in the art of Zucchero; HEINRICH VAN BALEN, of Antwerp (1575-1632); CORNELIS CORNELISSEN, called CORNELIS VAN HAARLEM (1562-1638); FRANZ PIETERSZ DE GREBBER, of Haarlem (1570-1649); ABRAHAM BLOEMART, born at Gorcum 1564, died 1651; PETER LASTMANN (1583-1633), who was to become the master of Rembrandt, followed the style of Caravaggio, which he handed on to his great pupil, as also his love of Eastern and Jewish dress and draperies; ADRIENNE VAN DER VENNE, born at Delft 1589, died at the Hague 1665, a zealous supporter of the Reformation and the House of Orange in Holland, a fine colourist, and a hot satirist of the Catholics—these are all distinguished painters. Of the group who founded their art on the Quentin Matsys style, such as we see in *The Misers*, were JAN MATSYS (1510?-

1574), son of the great Quentin Matsys, of whose works he made copies, and Huys.

David Vinckeboons or Vinckebooms, born at Mechlin 1578, died at Amsterdam 1629; Lucas van Valkenburg, born at Mechlin, died about 1598, and his brother, Martin van Valkenburg, and his son, Frederick van Valkenburg, were all painters of peasants and of soldiers; Sebastian Vrancx (1573-1638), painted battle-scenes, plunder of villages, and the like.

Animal painting was steadily being pursued for its own sake, though as yet a Bible tag is tied to the work. Roelandt Savery, born at Courtrai in 1576 and dying in 1639; Jan Brueghel, called Velvet Brueghel, practised the art—his well-known example is the famous Hague *Paradise*, for which Rubens painted in the figures of Adam and Eve; and Ferdinand van Kessel all painted animals.

The Netherlandish men of the late fifteen-hundreds kept alive the landscape art, ending with Paul Bril.

Of the landscape men were Frans Minnebroer, Jan de Hollander, Jacques Grimmer, Michael de Gast, Hendrik van Cleef, and Lucas Gassel. But it was in the art of the brothers Mathew Bril (1556?-1580) and Paul Bril that the native genius shone forth.

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PAUL BRIL

1554 – 1626

Mathew Bril, born at Antwerp, died early, but he taught Paul Bril his craftsmanship. Mathew Bril had gone to Rome, where he was to die; and was joined by his brother Paul, who soon surpassed him. Seeing Nature with a fresh Netherlandish eye, Paul Bril greatly influenced the coming men of the sixteen-hundreds—Rubens, as well as

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Annibale Carracci and Claude Lorraine. The Louvre is rich in him.

The three VALKENBURG brothers also practised landscape-painting. JOSSE DE MOMPER, who died in 1634-5, was also etcher; JAN BRUEGHEL likewise came to distinction in landscape; WILLEM VAN NIEULANDT, ANTON MYRON, PETER GYSSENS (all three painted so much like Velvet Brueghel that many of their works pass as his); ROELANDT SAVERY and DAVID VINCKEBOONS, whom we have seen before, all painted landscapes of mark, as did others at whom we have glanced—PETER LASTMANN, ALEXANDER KIERINGS, and HANS PILEN.

Of painters of the sea were the Dutchman HENDRIK CORNELIUS VROOM, born at Haarlem in 1566, and dying there in 1640, the friend of Paul Bril, by whom he was much influenced; he came to England, where he painted a *Defeat of the Spanish Armada.* ADAM WILLAERTS, born at Antwerp in 1577, died at Utrecht about 1664. BONAVENTURA PETERS, born at Antwerp in 1614, and dying thereat in 1652, loved the storm. JAN PETERS, his brother, born at Antwerp in 1624, died in 1677.

Architectural painting brought forth JAN FRIEDEMANN DE VRIES, born at Leeuwarden in 1527; to be further developed by HENDRIK VAN STEENWYCK, born in 1550 and dying in 1604, pupil to De Vries, who painted interiors of Gothic churches with figures. PETER NEEF (born at Antwerp in 1570, and dying in 1651), became pupil to Steenwyck, in whose style he wrought his art. For both Steenwyck and Neef, the figures are said to have been painted in by the Franckens, by Jan Brueghel, and by David Teniers the Elder. HENDRIK VAN STEENWYCK THE YOUNGER (1580-1649) was son to the Elder Steenwyck, and a fellow-pupil of Peter Neef, whose son, PETER NEEF THE YOUNGER

(1601-1675?) also practised the art. BARTHOLOMEW VAN BASSEN was another artist in this province.

Of painters of fruit and flowers was again JAN BRUEGHEL.

Of the painters of miniatures were HANS BOL, born at Mechlin in 1534, dying at Amsterdam in 1593, who was also an etcher; and JOORIS HOEFNAGEL, born at Antwerp in 1545, dying in Vienna in 1600, pupil to Hans Bol.

Thus we are arrived at the end of the early endeavour of the Netherlandish painters, of that springtime of the Flemish Renaissance that created what are called the Primitives. The sixteen-hundreds were to see the glorious sun of the summers of the Flemish Renaissance bring forth Rubens and Van Dyck and Teniers, and the mighty Dutch achievement. But we must leave these awhile to turn back and glance at the adventure of Art in Germany.

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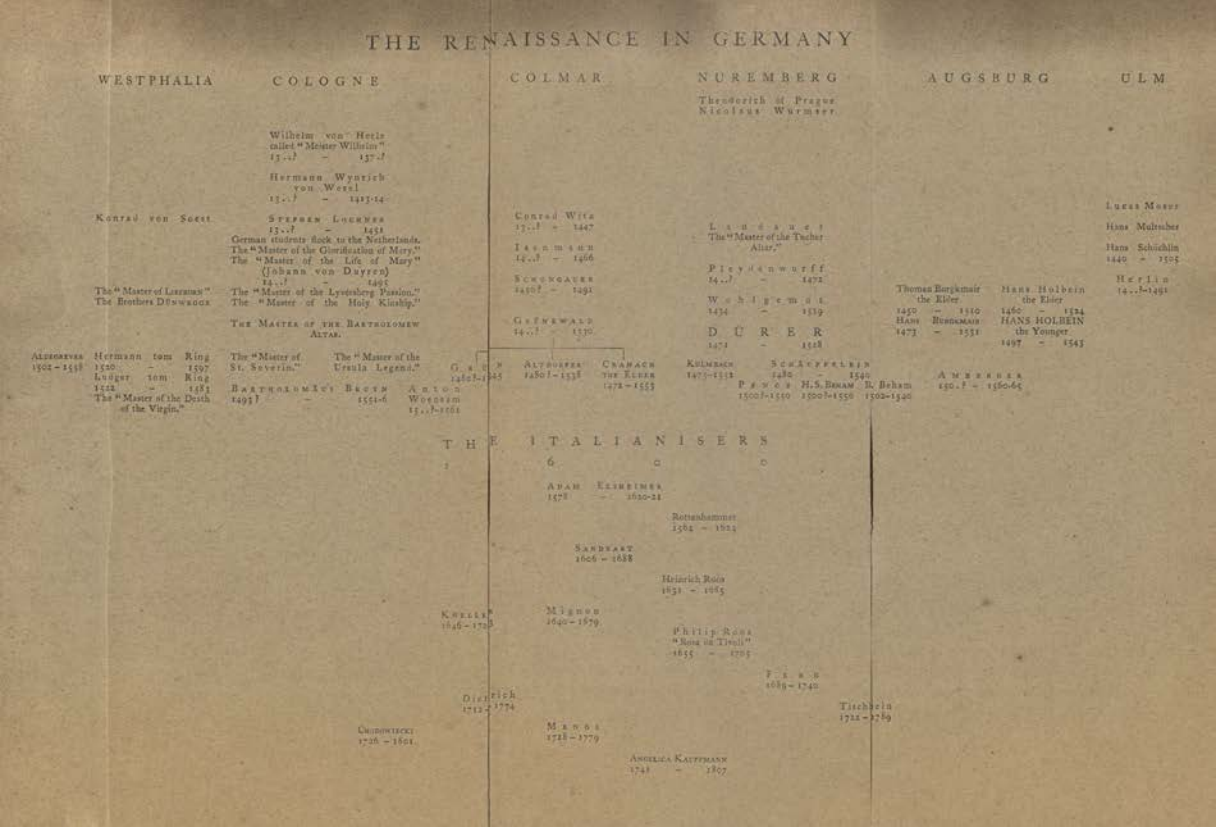

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CHAPTER XII

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS THROUGH COLOGNE AND THE NORTH OF GERMANY

THE SCHOOLS OF COLOGNE AND THE NORTH

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS THROUGH COLOGNE AND THE NORTH OF GERMANY

We have seen the Renaissance peeping into German cities as well as Flemish as it flitted down the Rhine. From 1400 the German achievement may be said to be centred in three districts—the Upper Rhine, with its centre at Cologne; Franconia, with its great and wealthy centre at Nuremberg; and Suabia, with its two centres of Ulm and Augsburg. Cologne developed towards artistic utterance with the Netherlandish craftsmen; but we are baffled a little by the loss of the names of her early men of genius, and have to label their works with the title of the "Master" of the most important (or at least of the best known) work by the Unknown. And though the title of the "Master of the Bartholomew Altar" may seem a cumbersome way of speaking of the artist, it is after all as definite as the man's name. At any rate, with the early Germans we are driven to this clumsy expedient.

MEISTER WILHELM

The first definite name, then, that looms out of Cologne is that of Meister Wilhelm, the name of Wilhelm

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von Herle, who, with his wife Jutta, bought a house in the Schildergasse in 1358, opposite the Monastery of St. Augustine; but though his name recurs in the archives of the town until 1372, with the payments for work done, and his repute was wide, nothing can with certainty be given to him except a few Gothic heads in the Cologne Museum, once part of the frescoes in the Town Hall. Of the many works once attributed to him, most are now given to his pupil or follower, Hermann Wynrich von Wesel.

HERMANN WYNRICH VON WESEL

13 ? – 1413 or 1414

Hermann Wynrich took Meister Wilhelm's studio after him, and his widow as well, marrying her and settling in her home. The famous *Virgin of the Bean Flower* or *Virgin of the Pea Blossom*, long given to Meister Wilhelm, is his most celebrated work, now at Cologne.

After the death of Hermann Wynrich there is silence until Meister Stephen Lochner appears on the scene in 1430, to bring fame to the city of Cologne.

STEPHEN LOCHNER

? – 1451

Stephen Lochner, generally known as "Meister Stephan," like Hermann Wynrich, was not born in Cologne, but was from Meersburg on Lake Constance. In 1442 he with his wife Lisbeth bought half of the Roggendorp house in the parish of St. Laurence. The large *Virgin and Child with a Female Donor*, called the *Virgin with the Violet*, at Cologne, is his earliest known work, painted about 1430. The *Presentation in the Temple* at Darmstadt is dated 1447. But the painting by which Lochner is most widely famous

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is the celebrated cathedral-picture or *Dombild* at Cologne Cathedral, with its central panel of the *Adoration of the Magi*, which Dürer records, close on a hundred years afterwards, having paid two silver pennies to see in the October of 1520.

Rogier van der Weyden went to Cologne in 1450, the year before Lochner died. Lochner seems to have left no pupils or followers. Though Lochner at one time owned two houses, he is said by tradition to have died in the poor-house. Whether he had passed out of the vogue with his gilt backgrounds and squat figures or not, it was towards the end of his years that all Germany began to turn its eyes to the great achievement of the Netherlandish painters, the Van Eycks. The middle fourteen-hundreds saw a great change come over German painting—the names of the Van Eycks and of Rogier van der Weyden were ringing through the German studios. The youngsters swarmed to the Netherlands. The new oil-painting was the talk of Germany. Realism came stalking into the mystic art of the Rhine.

THE UNKNOWN OF COLOGNE

Out of the last half of the fourteen-hundreds looms in Cologne the "MASTER OF THE GLORIFICATION OF MARY," so-called from his masterpiece in that city. The influence of the great Van Eyck altarpiece at Ghent is most marked.

Then follows the more famous "MASTER OF THE LIFE OF MARY," so-called from his seven panels of the *Life of the Virgin* at Munich. Again we have the Netherlandish influence—indeed, the debt to Dirk Bouts is very marked. He is held to have been Johann von Duyren, who died at Cologne in 1495. The eighth panel of the *Life of the Virgin* is at the National Gallery, called *The Presentation in the*

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Temple. Here we come at once on the battle-ground of the "experts." The National Gallery gives this *Presentation* to the follower and imitator of this "Master of the Life of the Virgin," who is called the "MASTER OF THE LYVERSBERG PASSION," after his eight panels of *The Passion* at Cologne. And the National Gallery holds four other paintings said to be by the "Master of the Life of Mary," the *St. Jerome, St. Benedict, St. Giles, and St. Romuald,* the *St. Augustine, St. Ludger, St. Hubert, and St. Maurice,* the *Conversion of St. Hubert,* and the *Mass of St. Hubert,* which are there given to a mythical "Meister von Werden."

Of the next painter, the "MASTER OF THE HOLY KINSHIP," who designed the great stained glass windows in the north aisle of Cologne Cathedral, and whose dated works run up to the year 1509, Berlin, Brussels, and Cologne all possess works.

Then comes the greatest of the Cologne painters, the "MASTER OF THE BARTHOLOMEW ALTAR," so-called from his famous altarpiece at Munich. The National Gallery possesses his panel of *St. Peter and St. Dorothy*; at Temple Newsam is a *Deposition* by him; and the Louvre has his great *Deposition* or Descent from the Cross.

At Cologne are the works of the men who followed the "Master of the Bartholomew Altar," of whom the best are the "MASTER OF ST. SEVERIN" and the "MASTER OF THE URSULA LEGEND."

Thereafter emerges an artist known by name.

BARTHOLOMÄUS BRUYN

1493 – 1555-6

Bartholomäus Bruyn shows Italian vision. Berlin has a sacred subject by him; but his chief fame is in portraiture, of which the Salting Collection holds a good example.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS THROUGH COLOGNE AND THE NORTH OF GERMANY

The "MASTER OF THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN," whose two triple-pictures of the *Death of the Virgin*, the one at Cologne, the other at Munich, are said to have been of the school of Antwerp.

ANTON WOENSAM of Worms (dying in 1561) wrought his art in Bruyn's years.

Bruyn's sons and followers passed into the Italian decay that threatened the German and Netherlandish schools about 1550.

WESTPHALIA

East of Holland lies Westphalia. Netherlandish and Cologne ideals inform the school of artists therein working. The first name that emerges in the early fourteen-hundreds is that of KONRAD VON SOEST, whose name and date are upon a large triple altarpiece in Niederwildungen. The painters of his school are numerous if not great, and Münster holds several. But in the later fourteen-hundreds comes an Unknown who raises the achievement, labelled the "MASTER OF LIESBORN." When the Abbey of Liesborn, by Münster, was suppressed, the large *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion* of 1465 was broken up and sold and scattered. The National Gallery holds several panels, including the *Presentation*, and three fragments, of which one is the *Head of Christ on the Cross* from the central part.

In 1521 an altarpiece at Dortmund was signed by two brothers, VICTOR DÜNWEGGE and HEINRICH DÜNWEGGE, to whom many works are freely given. An imitator is known as the "MASTER OF KAPPENBERG." Lastly come HERMANN TOM RING (1520-1597-9), and LUDGER TOM RING (1522-1583), best known for portraiture of famous people of their day.

PAINTING

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

Of the early fifteen-hundreds was HEINRICH ALDEGREVER, whose real name was Heinrich Trippenmaker, born at Paderborn in 1502, who came under the style of Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, and is remembered for his etchings. Indeed, he was known as "Albert of Westphalia" from the closeness of his engraving to that of Dürer, both on wood and copper. Aldegrever lived at Soest, hard by Münster, where John of Leyden and his ruffianly Court set up their kingdom of Zion and started a reign of terror in this troublous and vexed stage of the Reformation. Münster was the very stronghold of the Anabaptists. The part played by Aldegrever in the turmoil is not wholly known; but he was the close friend of the most violent of the "reformers"; and not only did he engrave the portraits of *John of Leyden* and of *Knipperdolling*, but many of his prints are broadsides against the Catholics.

The "School of Hamburg" produced MEISTER BERTRAM and MEISTER FRANCKE.

CHAPTER XIII

WHEREIN GERMAN SCHONGAUER BRINGS ART INTO THE HOME, AND ALSACE BURSTS INTO SONG

THE PAINTERS OF ALSACE

WHEREIN GERMAN SCHONGAUER BRINGS ART INTO THE HOME AND ALSACE BURSTS INTO SONG

But it was in the South, not in the North, that Germany was to utter the masterpiece in painting. And even before the fourteen-hundreds were run out, Southern Germany was to sound the note of greatness at Colmar through Martin Schongauer, and at Augsburg through Hans Holbein the Elder, who announce the coming glory of Dürer and Hans Holbein.

AT COLMAR IN ALSACE

CONRAD WITZ

13 ? – 1447

Conrad Witz of Rottweil is said to have founded the School of Colmar. He joined the Painters' Guild of Basle in 1434, and soon thereafter disappears from that city, dying in 1447. Geneva shows works by him that prove a strong naturalistic vision. Basle proves his early endeavour with gold grounds. Strassburg and Naples possess works of his, and Berlin holds an exquisite small *Crucifixion* by him. His love of landscape had a wide influence.

Kaspar Isenmann, who became a burgher of Colmar in 1436, and painted the large altarpiece for the Church of St. Martin in 1462, of which parts are at Colmar to-day, died in 1466. He is more famous as having trained Schongauer.

SCHONGAUER
1450? – 1491

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

Martin Schongauer is the great master of Colmar in the fourteen-hundreds. The son of a goldsmith who had become a citizen of Colmar in 1445, at Colmar Schongauer was born and lived and wrought his art; and in Colmar stands his masterpiece to-day. He was the glory of his day. They called him "the glory of painters"; they played with his name and wrought it into "Martin Schön" (Martin the Beautiful, as one might say), or as his pupil Burgkmair set it on the portrait he painted of him at Munich, "Hupsch Martin." His fame went over the land, and chiefly through his etchings, which are as much the glory of Germany of the fourteen-hundreds as were to be Dürer's in the fifteen-hundreds. Indeed, Schongauer's etching did for the pictorial art what the printing of words, which followed soon thereafter, was to do for literature. He democratised art, and spread it wide-cast through the homes of the people. And it was in this *printing* of works of art that Germany was to reach to sublime achievement—on the wood and on copper and other metals.

At Colmar, in the Church of St. Martin, is the greatest of the scarce paintings by Schongauer, his solemn and stately *Madonna in the Rose Garden*, painted in 1473; whilst Vienna, Munich, and Berlin possess the only other three that are his unchallenged work, of which the exquisite little *Adoration of the Shepherds* at Berlin is a very masterpiece. Over all he wrought is his homage to Rogier van der Weyden, whose pupil he is said to have been. Dürer, in 1491, his twentieth year, wandering the world awhile before he settled to his masterwork, came to Colmar to see Schongauer, only to find to his bitter disappointment

that his forerunner was dead. The influence of Schongauer upon Dürer was prodigious. And it was from Schongauer that Michelangelo had his earliest lessons when an apprentice to Ghirlandaio.

WHEREIN GERMAN SCHONGAUER BRINGS ART INTO THE HOME AND ALSACE BURSTS INTO SONG

Schongauer is said to have founded his etching upon the works of two earlier men of the middle fourteen-hundreds—two of the Unknowns—the "MONOGRAMIST E.S." and the "MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM CABINET." This is as it may be. Though Schongauer seems to have founded no school, his influence was very great. And Colmar was to be the scene of several triumphs of art in the fifteen-hundreds.

The engravings of the Germans of the fifteen-hundreds give us the manners and habits of the day—the very attitude to life.

1500

The fifteen-hundreds brought glory to Colmar in Alsace. It is true that Matthias Grünewald was not born in Colmar, and may never have wrought his art thereat; indeed of him we know so little that it is hopeless to guess. But it is sure that his masterpiece is at Colmar; we know also that his famous pupil Grün was of Alsace.

GRÜNEWALD

14 ? – 1530

MATTHIAS GRÜNEWALD was to have a prodigious influence on German art, yet of his birth and 'prenticeship and life we can but guess. Aschaffenburg claims him at his birth; and that he was called "Mathes von Aschaffenburg" is strong support to the claim. His works are very rare.

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

Fortunately the great *Isenheim Altarpiece* at Colmar saved his high mastery from oblivion. Here Grünewald setting before him the mighty artistic aim of uttering the sublime immensity of the Almighty and the smallness of Man, achieved the sensation by compelling upon the onlooker that emotion by means of an astounding employment of colour wedded to a poetic utterance which arouses awe. Of his drawings Oxford possesses the most exquisitely wrought *Portrait of an Old Woman.* We know also that Grünewald worked for the Archbishop of Mayence, whom he made immortal in his great picture at Munich. Grünewald died about 1530.

From Grünewald's teaching came several brilliant pupils of whom the most famous were HANS BALDUNG GRÜN or GREIN, ALTDORFER and CRANACH.

HANS BALDUNG GRÜN

1480? – 1545

Perhaps the most widely known pupil of Grünewald is Hans Baldung, nicknamed Grün (Green)—drily nicknamed by Dürer, to whom he afterwards went, "Grünhans" (Greenhorn, as we should say). Grün, who was born at Strassburg about 1480, founded his art closely on the style of Grünewald. Arrived at the edge of manhood he drifted to Nuremberg and worked in Dürer's workshop, but kept his first master's style. Of this period is his *Portrait of a Senator* in the National Gallery in London, dated 1514, but to which Dürer's well-known monogram has been forged; Grünewald's influence therein is most marked. At Munich is his signed and dated *Margrave of Baden* of a year later. In the National Gallery is a large *Pietà* by him with the Donor and family. From 1511 to 1517 Grün was at Freiburg, and there painted his famous altarpiece of *The*

Coronation of the Virgin still at the Cathedral. In 1517 he was in Strassburg again, where he settled, dying thereat in 1545. His many works are scattered over the chief galleries.

WHEREIN GERMAN SCHONGAUER BRINGS ART INTO THE HOME AND ALSACE BURSTS INTO SONG

ALTDORFER
1480? – 1538

Fellow-pupil to Grün, and of about the same age, in Grünewald's studio was Albrecht Altdorfer. Altdorfer was not a native of Alsace, having been born at or near Augsburg. In 1505 Altdorfer appears at Regensburg, of which he became a citizen and town-architect, and where he died in 1538. The slaughter-house thereat, built to his design, is still the slaughter-house of the town. His art he confined chiefly to paintings of small size. Altdorfer was a humorous dog. He loved to paint the mischievous pranks of the street-urchins of the town ; and even in his sacred pictures, where his Madonna is always the young German mother, he made the Infant not without hint of the frolicsome naughtiness of the boys he loved to limn, and his Angels are the roguish street-children and behave as such. His masterpiece, the *Birth of St. John the Baptist*, is at Augsburg, a superb scheme.

Both Hans Baldung Grün and Altdorfer had a large school of followers and imitators, of whom were Wolf Huber, Melchior Feselen, Michael Ostendorfer, Hans Maler, Hans Schwarz von Wertlingen, Jörg Ziegler, long known as "Meister von Messkirch," and the famous goldsmith-painter, Hans Mielich, amongst others. And the best of the Swiss painters who came to repute in the day of Hans Holbein the Younger learnt the mysteries from the pupils of Grünewald.

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

But before we leave the School of Alsace that had its centre at Colmar, we must glance at the art of a family that was bred out of the brain of Grünewald, though not of Alsatian stock. The greatest of the Franconian and Saxon painters was the famous CRANACH—LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER.

CRANACH
1472 – 1553

LUCAS CRANACH, called CRANACH THE ELDER, is as famous from his close friendship with Luther and the great leaders of the Reformation as he is as an artist. Founding his art on the teaching of Grünewald, as his early paintings and work fully reveal—the evidence of his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* at Berlin bears witness to it—Cranach came to wide fame. Born the year after Dürer to a family of the name of Müller at Kronach in Oberfranken (Franconia) in 1472, he thereafter adopted the name of his native town. Settling at Wittenberg with his wife, as painter and apothecary, he founded the SAXON SCHOOL of painting, becoming Court-painter to the Elector of Saxony. A hot and enthusiastic Protestant, he became a trusted servant of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. His earliest known work is dated 1504, in the year of his appointment as Court-painter. The year 1513 saw him in possession of a large house in Wittenberg; for he came to wealth, being twice Mayor of that city. He had a large number of assistants, including his sons. A sound sense of colour, good draughtsmanship, and a keen eye for Nature, stood him in good stead. His many pictures are scattered over the world—but many reputed by him are the work of his assistants. Master of a solid craftsmanship, using rich warm colour, painting flesh with a soft melting touch, Cranach's art is in many ways

different from the paler painting of his German day. But his type of woman, a sentimental, affected German woman, ill fits the tragic stage which he chose for his Lucretias and Judiths; and he seems to have lacked a sense of humour when he set a large velvet hat upon his naïve nude ladies for their tragic parts. The National Gallery has a typically sentimental portrait of *A Lady*. Cranach's signature, a crowned serpent, appears in a corner of it; but by that signature hangs a suspicious tale—it came to be freely used on works from his studio by his sons and several pupils.

WHEREIN GERMAN SCHONGAUER BRINGS ART INTO THE HOME AND ALSACE BURSTS INTO SONG

Of Cranach's numerous pupils and followers the most gifted were his two sons, JOHANNES CRANACH and LUCAS CRANACH THE YOUNGER. The gifted Johannes died young in 1536. LUCAS CRANACH THE YOUNGER had become the manager of his father's workshop when the ageing painter began to fail; and after his father's death in 1553 Lucas Cranach the Younger upheld and continued the Cranach style and tradition so well that it is difficult to separate the works of the several members of the family. He died in 1586.

Out of Cranach's studio also came HANS BROSAMER and HANS KRELL, a signed and dated *Portrait of a Woman* by whom is at Leipzig. Of the many others who kept up the Cranach tradition to the end of the fifteen-hundreds, none came to any great distinction.

SIMON VON ASCHAFFENBURG, whose two *Saints* are at Munich, was a follower of Grünewald who lived in the elder Cranach's day.

1400

CHAPTER XIV

WHEREIN HER GREATEST CITIZEN IS BORN TO THE PICTURESQUE CITY OF NUREMBERG

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

EASTWARDS from Alsace, beyond the Black Forest, in the watershed of the upper Danube lies Suabia, and in and about Ulm arose a school of painters who wrought an art not wholly great, but yet an art, in the fourteen-hundreds.

THE SCHOOL OF ULM

First comes LUCAS MOSER of Wil, whose large altarpiece at Tiefenbronn (Baden) is dated 1431, a primitive affair. Then HANS MULTSCHER follows, in the primitive vein, with works at Sterring dated from 1458, and his panels in Berlin of about 1440. HANS SCHÜCHLIN also, from about 1440 to 1505, who also painted an altarpiece for Tiefenbronn. Then HERLIN, or Herlen, of the hard, dry manner, who shows Flemish training and had wide influence; he died 1491. The later fifteen-hundreds brought forth BARTHOLOMÄUS ZEITBLOM, son-in-law to Schüchlin, whose daughter he married in 1483. He was the best of the men of Ulm; his masterpiece, the *Eschacher Altar*, being in chief part at Stuttgart, with a panel at Berlin, vivid of colour and serene in mood. He died in 1512.

The family of STRIGEL, of whom the best artist was BERNHARD STRIGEL (1460 or 1461-1528), born at Memmingen and dying there, who was in the service of the Emperor Maximilian, and painted besides many portraits several sacred pictures. MARTIN SCHAFFNER, who died at

Ulm about 1541, was a sounder painter of the portrait. Last came MARTIN SCHWARZ; Nuremberg has two panels by him.

WHEREIN HER GREATEST CITIZEN IS BORN TO THE PICTURESQUE CITY OF NUREMBERG

Farther eastward again lie Franconia and Bavaria; and here, in Franconian NUREMBERG to the north and in Swabian AUGSBURG to the south, were to arise the schools that gave to Germany her two supreme masters in painting —DÜRER and HOLBEIN.

THE SCHOOL OF NUREMBERG

We have seen, in Bohemia's capital of PRAGUE, the Emperor Charles IV for the splendour of his castle of Karlstein employing NICOLAS WURMSER of Strassburg and MEISTER THEODORICH, with sundry Italians, about 1338; and though the Hussite wars ended the effort of Prague by 1400, Nuremberg's first great painter of the fourteen-hundreds was inspired by Prague's achievement—"MEISTER BERTHOLD" LANDAUER, who wrought his famous *Altarpiece in the Church of St. Lawrence* at Nuremberg between 1418 and 1422. Thereafter came the "MASTER OF THE TUCHER ALTAR" at Nuremberg (1440). Thereafter, from the middle fourteen-hundreds, HANS PLEYDENWURFF was the head and front of painting in the picturesque city until he died in 1472, whose widow in 1473 married Pleydenwurff's successor MICHAEL WOLGEMUT (1434-1519), who taught the mysteries of his art to one who was to come to giant stature in art as Albrecht Dürer. Munich possesses Wolgemut's earliest *Altarpiece* painted in 1465; and Dessau his double portrait, the *Bridegroom and Bride*, of ten years later, 1475. In 1479 he was at work upon his altarpiece at Zwickau in Saxony; and his last-known painting is dated 1507.

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

1500

Out of Wolgemut's studio in Nuremberg stepped a man whose genius was to bring fame to the German blood; his name ALBRECHT DÜRER.

DÜRER
1471–1528

In 1455 there came to Nuremberg a goldsmith from Hungary named Dürer, who had spent his youth amidst the Netherlandish artists; in 1467 he married a girl of fifteen, Barbara, daughter of his master, the goldsmith Holper, and became a "master" and citizen of Nuremberg the year after. To the Dürers was born on the 21st of the May of 1471, a boy whom they christened Albrecht. Albrecht Dürer was marked down for his father's trade, and, his schooldays being done, went into his father's workshop; but his fancy ran to painting, and the father with regret let the youth leave the goldsmithing for paints. Vienna possesses the drawing of the lad by himself in silverpoint made in 1484, at thirteen, while still a goldsmith's 'prentice, and revealing astounding precocity. When we glance at the drawing of the *Virgin and Child* at Berlin, made in 1485, it is small wonder that the father apprenticed him on the 30th November 1486 to Michael Wolgemut (or Wohlgemut) for three years. The Uffizi holds a portrait or copy of a portrait by Dürer of *Dürer's Father*, wrought in these 'prentice days (1490); on the back he painted a coat-of-arms in which, if by him, we have an early effort in a province in which he was to do so well. His 'prentice years ended, young Albrecht Dürer, at nineteen,

set out after the Easter of 1490 on his four years' wander abroad. At Colmar and Basle the brothers of the dead Schongauer received him with kindness; thence he made across the Alps for Venice, sketching landscapes in water-colours as he went, which stood his art in good stead in the after years. At Leipzig is the portrait of himself holding a blue flower, painted in 1493, his twenty-second year.

WHEREIN HER GREATEST CITIZEN IS BORN TO THE PICTURESQUE CITY OF NUREMBERG

The ending of the Whitsuntide of 1494 saw Dürer, in his twenty-third year, back at Nuremberg, with a bride selected for him from an artistic family of the city—Agnes Frey, whom he married on the fourteenth of July. The marriage brought no child to Dürer; but he was soon to have family enough. In 1502 his father died, and Dürer took his beloved mother into his home, with a troop of younger brothers and sisters. It must be remembered that Dürer was not yet widely known, and his prospects by no means of the brightest; but by energy and untiring industry he was steadily to win to fame. On his marriage he opened a studio. At Nuremberg painting was a "fine" art, independent of guilds. His inquisitive mind made him search scientifically for beauty, but he gave it up: "Beauty! What it is, I know not"; and he wisely went instead to Nature and came to grips with reality, concluding with "Art lies hid in Nature; he who can pluck it therefrom hath made it his."

Dürer's earliest-known altarpiece is the triple picture in tempera on canvas of the *Madonna* with the Infant Christ asleep on a pillow, with shutters of *St. Anthony* and *St. Sebastian*, now at Dresden, and wrought for the Elector Frederick of Saxony who gave Dürer many orders. Another painting of these years by Dürer is the *Paumgärtner Altarpiece* at Munich, with its central panel of the *Nativity* and its two great portrait shutters, each of a warrior in armour,

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the donors : on the right shutter *Lucas Paumgärtner*, on the left his brother *Stephen Paumgärtner*, as two saintly knights. These two knights had been afterwards painted with horses, and in a landscape, with many additions—since cleaned away. The two altarpieces of the *Lamentation over the Body of Christ*, designed by Dürer and carried out in his workshop, are—the one at Munich, the other, painted for the *Holzschuher Family*, at Nuremberg.

Dürer, like most artists, when he endeavoured to employ reason against instinct, talked trash about art—"The art of painting is employed in the service of the Church. It preserves also the shape of men after death"; thus he confines art to sacred subjects and to portraiture. But his practice was greater than his petty theory, as was that of Michelangelo, who perhaps wrote as narrowly about art as most. And it is Dürer himself who breaks new ground in northern art by painting mythology in 1500 in his *Hercules killing the Stymphalian Birds*, now at Nuremberg. But it must be confessed that he did better in the portraits which he was now painting with power. The *Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony*, painted in tempera, is at Berlin ; Augsburg possesses his portrait of a *Daughter of the Fürleger Family* (1497), thinly disguised as a saintly maiden or a Madonna. The Northumberland portrait of *Dürer's Father* is of the same year (1497), of whom the British Museum is also said to have a fine charcoal drawing, which, however, is unlike Dürer's father, and is not by Dürer, but the work of Hans Burgkmair. The Prado holds, and the Uffizi has a replica of, a *Portrait of Himself*, by Dürer, painted in 1498. The year 1499 saw orders for portraits flowing in. Of the three *Tucher* portraits, *Hans Tucher* and his wife *Felicitas* are at Weimar; the third, *Elsbeth Tucher*, wife of Niklas Tucher, is at Cassel ; but a far greater portrait is the

well-known *Oswald Krell* at Munich, of this, the last year of the fourten-hundreds. The next year, 1500, saw Dürer painting the world-famous and wonderful Christlike *Portrait of Himself*, full-face, bearded, with hair in long heavy ringlets, now at Munich.

WHEREIN HER GREATEST CITIZEN IS BORN TO THE PICTURESQUE CITY OF NUREMBERG

But it was not by his paintings, even by his portraits, that Dürer was to come to fame; it was his woodcuts that spread his name far and wide; and let us set aside the glamour of the years and of death, and realise here and now that Dürer was not a mighty genius in painting. Now and again he wrought a masterpiece, but as a painter he cannot be ranked beside his great fellow-countryman Holbein, nor does he approach the Netherlandish genius. But he created works of art in line which astounded even the Italians. He wrought on wood and on metal works of art that are immortal, and beside which his painting takes second rank, if we except only some two or three paintings such as his astounding *Portrait of Hans Imhof the Elder* at the Prado. His prints went broadcast over the land at a time when the multitude could read a picture, but few could read writing. In 1498 Dürer gave forth his famed fifteen woodcuts to the German and Latin *Revelation of St. John* to a world in ferment; and the prints were eagerly devoured. At once the imagination of the man, baulked by painting, soared on eagle pinions; and the woodcut gave a mighty genius to the age. Shedding all petty aim of beauty from him, he uttered the spirit of his age in compelling fashion. The Germans always spoke in paint with a Netherlandish accent, sometimes made elegant with Italianese; but in the woodcut and with the graver they topped the achievement of their age, and outstripped all previous endeavour. Here Dürer reached to grandeur and boldness of design and of invention that is absolutely

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

creative. And with what consummate tact he simplified his line to the wood-engraver's hard craftsmanship!

With the like skill of hand also he engraved upon the copper, understanding its limitations as much as its range. Amongst his earliest engravings are the famous *Virgin with the Monkey* and *The Prodigal Son.* But he was soon thrusting forward the province of the engraving from severe line towards a fuller gamut of utterance. In 1503 he engraved his famous *Coat-of-Arms with the Skull* which became the standard of heraldic design. His first elaborate effort to make engraving reach to as full an utterance as paint was in his celebrated *Adam and Eve* in 1504, in which he reveals his study of Mantegna. At the same time, in his woodcuts and engravings his instinct thrust aside his foolish laws, and he went to the life of the people about him, and has left us a picture of his age.

Meanwhile, Dürer designed in 1502—as his drawing for it at Basle proves—his altarpiece of the *Crucifixion* for the Elector of Saxony, now in the palace of the Archbishop of Vienna at St. Veit; its shutters hold, on the inside, the *Bearing of the Cross* and the *Risen Lord*—on the outside, *St. Sebastian* and *St. Roch*, the whole completed by his assistants. But in 1504 he himself painted the altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi* for the Elector, which is the immortal work now at the Uffizi in Florence, and is of his supreme achievement. To this same year belong the two shutters of an unfinished altarpiece at Bremen, of *St. Onuphrius* and *St. John the Baptist*, designed by Dürer; who however was now also at work upon his two great series of woodcuts known as the *Great Passion* and the *Life of the Virgin.* The wood-engraver's knife so punished his designs for the *Passion* that he wrought in 1504 a series of twelve drawings on green paper, famous as the *Green Passion*, now

XII

DÜRER

1471–1528

THE GERMAN SCHOOL OF NUREMBERG

"OSWALT KREL"

(Oil-Painting in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich)

OSWOLT·KREL··
·1499·

in the superb collection of drawings at the Albertina in Vienna, which he rids from all symbols and haloes and the like. In the sixteen woodcuts of the *Life of the Virgin* he gives us the homely life of his day in exquisite, often humorous, fashion.

WHEREIN HER GREATEST CITIZEN IS BORN TO THE PICTURESQUE CITY OF NUREMBERG

It was to protect his rights against the pirating of his works in Venice that he now, in 1505, took his first journey to the City in the Waters, where he stayed for some time. He painted thereat in 1506 his altarpiece of the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* for the German merchants of Venice—now much damaged at Prague—in which the Virgin and Child are distributing rosaries, and crowning the Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Julius II with wreaths of roses, whilst St. Dominic and angels crown others. Dürer is seen in the background with his friend, the humanist Wilibald Pirckheimer. At Venice he also painted several portraits and pictures, of which is the Dresden *Crucifixion* (a questionable attribution); in the Barberini at Rome is the *Child Christ disputing with the Doctors*, painted in five days, of which the Albertina at Venice has a drawing; Vienna has a *Portrait of a Fair-haired Young Man*, dated 1507—on the back of which panel Dürer painted Avarice, an ugly, lean old hag, holding a bag of gold coins, and laughing with scorn; Hampton Court possesses a good *Portrait of a Young Man with Fair Hair*, signed and dated 1506.

From Venice, Dürer went to Bologna and Ferrara, and was starting for Mantua to meet Mantegna, when he was overwhelmed by the news of the great Paduan's death. We know from Dürer's letters that the nobles of Venice eagerly welcomed him, but the artists were cold—except Giovanni Bellini, then eighty, and a few others. But he was in high good spirits.

In 1507 Dürer was back at Nuremberg. Venice had

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taught him much, but he made no surrender to her. He now painted several large paintings, first the large *Adam* and the large *Eve*, now at the Prado, of which he made replicas with variations, now at the Pitti in Florence. In 1508, after a hard year's work, he finished the painting for the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony of *The Ten Thousand Martyrs*, the Persian Christians whom King Sapor put to death, now at Vienna. Thereafter he got to work on the large *Heller Altarpiece* of *The Assumption of the Virgin*, ordered by the wealthy merchant Jakob Heller of Frankfort, which he sent off in the August of 1509—and of which the Albertina possesses the famous brush drawings of the *Hands in Prayer*. The altarpiece has perished, burnt in the fire of 1674 that overwhelmed the palace at Munich.

Basle holds a drawing by Dürer of a charming *Virgin and Child* of 1509, marked by strong Italian Renaissance feeling.

Dürer's next large altarpiece of *All Saints*, or the *Holy Trinity*, which he finished in 1511, is now at Vienna—a great work, in which the donor, Matthäus Landauer, is seen amongst the Saints; and Dürer stands below. The year that gave his great *Trinity* altarpiece to the world, saw Dürer publish his "Three Large Books" of woodcuts as a connected whole—the *Life of the Virgin*, the *Great Passion* (both of which he had now completed), and the *Apocalypse* (Revelation), with a new frontispiece. For the front of this great collection he designed a new *Title to the Life of the Virgin*, and the sixteen plates follow—with two new designs added in 1510, the *Death of the Virgin* and the *Assumption* or *Coronation*, followed by a *Virgin as Queen of Heaven* to round off the sequence. For the *Passion*, Dürer designed a title with *The Man of Sorrows*; and he added four new plates dated 1510—the *Last Supper*, the *Betrayal*, the *Descent*

into Hell, and the *Resurrection*. As title to the *Apocalypse*, he made a design of *St. John the Evangelist*.

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In this same year of 1511, Dürer also gave forth a small book of woodcuts of the *Passion* known as the *Little Passion*, with thirty-seven woodcuts (the *Man of Sorrows* sitting on a stone for title, and thirty-six other designs, dated 1509 and 1510).

Besides his four books he also published a number of single woodcuts: maxims of conduct, urgings to prepare for death, and meditations on the Passion. The year 1511 appears on some very fine single woodcuts—the *Holy Trinity*, the *Mass of St. Gregory*, and the *Holy Family*.

Dürer followed the Landauer altarpiece of *The Trinity* with the little Vienna *Madonna of the Cut Pear*, in 1512; and in the same year he painted for his native town, of which he had been made a member of the council in 1509, the two life-sized portraits of the Emperors *Charlemagne* and *Sigismund*.

Thereafter, for several years, Dürer set aside the brush for the engraved design, to the glory of his great art, which he much preferred. In 1513 he published sixteen small copper prints of his *Passion*, which *Etched Passion* has for frontispiece the *Christ at the Column* (or *Man of Sorrows*)—the "*Little Passion* on copper" makes his third Passion sequence.

Dürer now poured out his masterpieces of engraving.

In 1512 he wrought his drypoint of *St. Jerome and the Willow Tree*. The year 1513 saw his *Angels with the Napkin of St. Veronica*; and during 1513 and 1514 the three supreme achievements of German engraving, as they are the greatest utterance of all Dürer's genius—*The Knight, Death, and the Devil* (1513), the *Melancholy* (1514), and *St. Jerome in his Cell* (1514). Here we have Dürer as sublime

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artist, supreme in his province—uttering the mood of the thing desired with astounding power and consummate use of the tools of his craftsmanship. He never painted such master-work as these. The death-piece almost smells with the stench of the dead; the *Melancholy* is Melancholy realised. Dürer has left the cant of Beauty completely behind him. He rises to sheer genius.

Dürer was now to know death stalking into his household. He suffered in the death of his beloved mother the deepest sorrow of his life—she passed away on the 16th of May 1514; Berlin has a portrait of her, a charcoal drawing, made by Dürer a few weeks before she died.

The year 1514 brought forth but one known painting, if by Dürer, the questionable Bremen *Head of Christ*; 1515 saw him paint the Munich *Mater Dolorosa*. But the Emperor Maximilian had now conceived the design of a magnificent sequence of woodcuts to glorify his own career—a great *Triumph*, in two parts, the *Triumphal Arch* (or *Gate of Honour*) and the *Triumphal Procession*—the Emperor's friend, the mathematical historian-poet, Johannes Stabius, to write and plan it; the *Triumphal Arch* and the *Triumphal Procession* to be each a great sheet of woodcuts. For three years Dürer worked on the *Triumphal Arch*, and in 1515 he completed ninety-two wood blocks, Hieronymus Andrea, the Nuremberg engraver, cutting the huge sheet, nearly nine feet square.

In 1515 Dürer illustrated the margins of the Emperor's *Prayer Book* (now at Munich) with forty-five pages of pen-drawings, which are works of astounding beauty; their influence on art ever since has been very wide.

In 1516 Dürer was painting again. Of his ageing master, *Wolgemut*, he painted a portrait (now at Munich) in his eighty-second year, three years before the old man died.

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Augsburg possesses a small *Virgin with the Carnation* by Dürer, of this time. The Uffizi has two heads of Apostles, *St. Philip* and *St. James*, in tempera.

In 1517 Dürer laid aside the brush again. In 1518 he painted the life-size nude of the Munich *Lucretia.*

Dürer had tried the drypoint as early as 1512 with success in his *St. Jerome and the Willow Tree.* He now added the action of acid, and took up "etching"; using iron for the easier eating or "etching" of the acid. His pure "etching" belongs to the years 1514 to 1518, when he returned again to the graver. His most famed etching is *The Great Cannon* (1518). The fine line-engraving of the *Virgin and Child with two Angels*, seated before a wattle-fence, is of this same year. And all the while he was issuing great woodcuts, of which the *Virgin crowned by Angels* is also of this year of 1518. And he was at work on the huge *Triumphal Procession* for the Emperor, though this great sheet was now partly the work of other artists; but before it could be completed the Emperor died, on the 12th of January 1519—not, however, before Dürer had painted, drawn from life, the *Portrait* of his great patron on the 28th of June 1518 (now at Vienna), in that *Charcoal Drawing* at the Albertina, from which he wrought his two fine woodcuts of *Maximilian*, and later painted his two *Portraits of the Emperor*—the one in water-colour on canvas at Nuremberg, and the other in oils at Vienna. It was at the same Diet at Augsburg in 1518 that Dürer drew the charcoal sketch of *Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Primate and Elector of the Empire, and Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg*, at the Albertina, from which he made his famous engraving—his first great engraved portrait.

Henceforth he gave almost all his strength to portraiture, though the superb engraving of *St. Anthony* is of 1519.

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The summer of 1520 saw Dürer on the road to the Netherlands, where he stayed over a year. Charles v, who succeeded Maximilian, was to land at Antwerp—and Dürer was anxious to get his yearly pension of a hundred florins renewed. So, with his wife and her maid, he set off on the 12th of July, by way of Frankfort and Cologne, reaching Antwerp on the 2nd of August, where he was received like a prince. Here he visited Quentin Matsys and the learned Erasmus of Rotterdam. Thence to Brussels to meet Margaret, then Governor of the Netherlands, daughter to Maximilian.

Here, as at Antwerp, he was warmly welcomed by the artists, and Bernard van Orley gave a banquet to him which astonished Dürer by its magnificence. Then to Antwerp again, where he took part in the brilliant reception of the young Emperor, whom he followed to Aix-la-Chapelle for the coronation, and on to Cologne, where, on the 12th of November, he received the Emperor's formal confirmation of his pension. Thence, back by Antwerp he came, by Nymwegen and Bois-le-Duc—making a journey thence to Zeeland, in Holland, in the winter, to see a stranded whale, nearly coming to a watery grave, the boat being carried out to sea. Back he came to Antwerp, where he was present at Patenir's marriage in May. Going to Bruges and Ghent in the spring of 1521, and fêted wherever he went, he lost no chance of seeing any famous works of art; then to Malines in June to see the Archduchess Margaret, who, however, did not care for a portrait of the Emperor which he had drawn for her; back to Antwerp, where he made a friend of Lucas van Leyden; and here King Christian II of Scandinavia sent for Dürer to make a portrait of him, which he did in charcoal, afterwards going with him to Brussels, where the king was received in great

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state by the Emperor and Archduchess Margaret—Dürer was an honoured guest at the great banquets, during one of which he borrowed some colours and painted the king in oils. Everywhere Dürer showered his works of art in return for hospitalities received. He bartered his engravings for curiosities and works of art by others; and he did a thriving trade in selling them as well, selling also for his fellow-artists in Germany large numbers of their works. Commissions also poured in upon him, from portraits to coats-of-arms; and he had to borrow oil colours and an apprentice from Joachim Patenir.

His diary also shows him keenly interested in the religious upheaval of the time. Catholic as he was, he was deeply stirred by the news of the imprisonment of Luther—prays for him, shows himself keenly on the side of Reformation, yet blind to the danger of Schism from Rome that lay therein.

Not only was Dürer doing a prodigious amount of work all this time in the Netherlands, as well as feasting and junketing, but he filled his sketch-book with elaborate drawings the while. Of his paintings at this time, the Louvre has the portrait in tempera of *An Old Man with a Red Cap*, and Dresden his oil portrait of Bernard van Orley. And in July, turning his face homewards, his diary and his sketch-book show him busy all the way, recording his impressions. Dürer was a thrifty and astute fellow—he had taken with him a large number of woodcuts and engravings, and they did him yeoman service.

On his return home in 1521 Dürer was called to the painting of the Town Hall. For it he designed the great composition of the *Triumphal Chariot*, of which he also made a woodcut in 1522. Next came his *Allegory of*

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Calumny, a pen-drawing of 1522, now at the Albertina. Next he designed the humorous *Pipers' Seat.* These were painted by assistants. He himself was busy upon portraits. The Prado has his superb head of an elderly clean-shaven man in a black hat, once belonging to Philip IV of Spain —*Hans Imhof*, Elder of Nuremberg—one of the greatest portraits of his age. In 1522 Dürer gave forth his superb large woodcut portrait of the *Protonotary Ulrich Varnbilder*, his intimate friend. Then came the small woodcut portrait of *Eobanus Hessus*, the humanist. At the Diet of Nuremberg, 1522-3, he made his *second* and great engraved portrait of *Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg* (1523), that engraving which is called "the great" Cardinal, as against his first small portrait of 1519. His famous engraved portrait of his first patron, *Frederick the Wise of Saxony*, (1524) is of the same year as the fine engraved portrait of his old friend, *Wilibald Pirkheimer* (1524), scholar, statesman, and commander. To 1526 belong his two most famous engraved portraits and his last—he had twice made a drawing of Erasmus of Rotterdam in the Netherlands; Melanchthon often went to Nuremberg and was a friend of Dürer's, who now gave forth his famous *Erasmus* and *Melanchthon*, known the wide world over. And to 1526 belong Dürer's last painted portraits—*Johann Kleeberger*, son-in-law to stout old Wilibald Pirkheimer (at Vienna), a stupid thing in which the man's pedantic affectations baffled poor Dürer; the two city councillors, the clean-shaven *Jakob Muffel* and the bearded *Hieronymus Holzschuher*, both at Berlin.

Probably owing to the wide favour of his *Passion* prints, Dürer now began a fifth series of *The Passion*, intended for woodcuts, but never cut; indeed, but a few of the designs were drawn by Dürer, though such as he did

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are superb oblong pen-drawings. He seems to have thrown up the idea in mid-career. The first two drawings he made at Antwerp in 1520—now at Florence—*Christ bearing the Cross*. Florence has also one of the chalk drawings, Frankfort another, and Nuremberg a third, of *The Entombment* (1521). The Albertina has the sketch for a *Last Supper* (1523) of which another design was cut on the wood. The Albertina also possesses the *Adoration of the Magi* drawing. Dürer's last religious woodcut was a *Holy Family* (1526).

From 1509 Dürer had not been employing assistants; he, in 1523, called them to his aid to carry out the small *Jabach Altarpiece*, painted for that family in Cologne, of which the scattered parts are at Munich, Cologne, and Frankfort. In 1526 he painted the small *Virgin with the Apple, and Child with the Cornflower*, at the Uffizi; and the same year saw him finish his last great paintings, the two large pictures of the *Apostles St. John and St. Peter* and the *Apostles St. Paul and St. Mark*, known as the "Four Apostles" or "Four Temperaments," now at Munich.

From 1520 Dürer had been in weakened health since a severe illness on the journey into Zeeland, and he wished to leave a majestic gift to his great city. He painted the *Apostles* with a large simplicity which he pathetically told Melanchthon was the highest art, but to which he never thought to reach. He wrote upon them also his last testament against the Reformers, as he now conceived such, and in the autumn of 1526 he presented the *Apostles* to his native city. When, a hundred years thereafter, Maximilian of Bavaria took them from Nuremberg, he graciously had Dürer's inscription sawn off the foot of them and set under the copies that took the place of Dürer's paintings—they were rather embarrassing words for him to carry north maybe.

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In 1526 Dürer's career as artist was at an end; henceforth he gave himself to the writing of books. The year before he had published his *Art of Measurement*, a work on perspective. His books on music and gymnastics he did not publish. In 1527, dedicated to King Ferdinand, illustrated and with a remarkable heraldic frontispiece, he produced his *Instructions for Fortifying Cities, Castles, and Towns*—indeed, a woodcut of the *Siege of a Town* was his last work. He passionately desired that Germany should create great artists; he wrote his famous *Doctrine of Proportion*; but his works on Painting and the like subjects were not to be.

On the 6th day of the April of 1528, suddenly and peacefully, "the German Apelles" passed away in his fifty-seventh year, being buried in the vault of the Frey family in St. John's churchyard at Nuremberg, to the bitter grief of the greatest men of his day.

A handsome, fine fellow of a man, slim and slender, of powerful chest, shapely of hand, he was ever something of a genial dandy in his day; and a musical voice and charm of manner were the vehicle of communion to his fellows of an ardent, sweet-natured soul, honourable, generous, unselfish, unjealous. Clean of life, of unflagging industry, he stands out in his age as a pure and noble being.

His widow lived eleven years longer.

So wide was his fame that his work was forged perhaps more than that of any other painter who ever lived.

Everything came as fish to Dürer's net, and he gave glamour to all he touched. He made a coat-of-arms a work of art, bringing mood and imagination into it, and supreme hand's skill. His engraved *Coat-of-Arms with the Cock* is the acknowledged masterpiece of heraldry. To possess a title-page or a bookplate by him was to possess

treasure—his *Bookplate for Hector Pomer* is a woodcut that holds immortality. Alphabets, types of letters for printing, charts, the engraved boss of the *Crucifixion* for the pommel of the Emperor Maximilian's sword, anything and everything, roused his inquisitive and eager senses to adornment.

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THE FOLLOWERS AND PUPILS OF DÜRER

Working in Wohlgemut's workshop with Dürer was WOLF TRAUT, who afterwards became a follower of Dürer, but never came to greatness, dying in 1520. Of Dürer's direct pupils was his brother HANS DÜRER, born in 1490, who was made Court-painter to the King of Poland after Dürer died, being last heard of about 1538. The first assistant to Dürer on his opening his studio was HANS LEONHARD SCHÄUFFELEIN, born at Nuremberg in 1480, who, besides painting, came to considerable repute for his drawings and woodcuts. From Nuremberg Schäuffelein went to Augsburg, thence in 1515 to Nördlingen in Suabia, dying there about 1540. The most famous of Dürer's pupils was HANS SUESS, known as HANS VON KULMBACH (1475-1522), who, born about 1475 at Kulmbach by Baireuth, is said to have gone as 'prentice to Jacopo de' Barbari when that Venetian was working in Nuremberg; thence he went into the studio of Dürer, with whom he worked until death took him in 1522, before his master. Berlin possesses his fine *Adoration of the Magi*, which displays his powers; it is signed and dated 1511. For the Tucher family he painted in 1513 another large altarpiece in the Church of St. Sebastian at Nuremberg. The year 1514 saw him in Cracow, painting the series of panels for the Church of St. Mary there. By 1518 he was back again in Nuremberg. Of his rare portraits is the *Young Nobleman* in the Kaufmann collection at Berlin.

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Of Dürer's followers, all born in or about the year 1500, were PENCZ, and the two brothers BEHAM; all three took up the Protestant cause which was then beginning to create a faction in Nuremberg, and all three were expelled from the city in 1524 for their prominence in the unrest. GEORGE PENCZ came back to Nuremberg, and became town-painter in 1532; he was a fine painter of the portrait, of which Berlin and Karlsruhe possess good examples; and he came to fame as an engraver, his portrait of *Johann Friedrich, Elector of Bavaria*, being well known. He died in want in 1550. HANS SEBALD BEHAM, who went to Frankfort in 1534, came to fame as engraver and illustrator. The Louvre contains a painted table-top by him, his sole known painting. He died at Frankfort in 1550. BARTHEL BEHAM, his brother, was Court-painter to the Duke of Bavaria in 1530 at Munich. His portraits are fairly numerous, and he came to fame also as an etcher. He died comparatively young in 1540. VIRGILIUS SOLIS (1514-1562), was painter, engraver, and wrought on the wood.

By 1550 the creative art of Nuremberg was at an end, and painting fell into the hands of mediocrities. But there lived at Nuremberg from 1561 to his death the painter NICOLAS LUCIDEL, born at Bergen in Hainault, who, after years of wandering, settled in that city, and painted works which at least were above the level of the surrounding decay.

1450

CHAPTER XV

WHEREIN WE SEE AUGSBURG SEND HER GREATEST SON INTO THE DESERT, WHO THEREBY COMES TO PAINT THE COURT OF BLUFF KING HAL OF THE MANY WIVES

THE SCHOOL OF AUGSBURG

WHEREIN WE SEE AUGSBURG SEND HER GREATEST SON INTO THE DESERT, WHO THEREBY COMES TO PAINT THE COURT OF BLUFF KING HAL OF THE MANY WIVES

SOUTH of Nuremberg lies the great and free Swabian city of Augsburg, and Augsburg was to give forth its supreme genius in HOLBEIN. Though the records of this rich city speak of earlier painters, their work has vanished. But there were two artists at the end of the fourteen-hundreds, THOMAN BURGKMAIR and HANS HOLBEIN THE ELDER, whose sons HANS BURGKMAIR and HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER were to bring fame to the city.

Of THOMAN BURGKMAIR (1450-1510) we know little, except that he was an apprentice to painting in 1460.

But of HANS HOLBEIN THE ELDER (1460?-1524), who wrought his art in his day, we have many paintings and drawings to bear witness to his fine gifts in the late fourteen-hundreds. Born about 1460-70 to a leather-worker of Augsburg, the name of Hans Holbein the Elder creeps into the city records in 1494—his first dated work is of 1493. Augsburg, Munich, and other German cities possess his art. What was his early schooling no man knows—but as likely as not he learnt the mysteries from Schongauer at Colmar. At first indebted, like the German

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art of his day, to Rogier van der Weyden, he came under the Italian glamour about 1508, and thenceforth completely changed his style to the Italian manner. Berlin possesses a superb collection of his drawings, in which he far surpasses his skill in painting; his small portrait-drawings of his friends at Augsburg reaching to astounding performance. But art brought little money into his till; and 1517 saw him shake the dust of Augsburg's streets from his feet. Already his two sons, Ambrosius and Hans, had made for Basle, where young Hans was settled by 1515, and Ambrosius the elder brother the following year of 1516. Ambrosius died early, about 1519; the well-known *Portrait of a Man* at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, long given to Hans Holbein the Younger, now being given to him.

Many works long given to Hans Holbein the Younger are also now found to have been by Hans Holbein the Elder, of which is the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* at Munich. Hans Holbein the Elder had as his assistant in his workshop his brother SIGMUND HOLBEIN, who settled in Berne. Of about this time, and by some given to Sigmund Holbein, is the *Lady in the White Cap* "with the fly" in the National Gallery in London—a fine work of this school, on the background of which is the lady's maiden name as shown by the words "Geborne Hoferin."

Berlin has a silverpoint drawing by the Elder Hans Holbein of his two sons "*Prosy*" *and* "*Hanns Holbein*," dated 1511; Hans is fourteen, the elder brother's age is blurred.

Old Hans had never come to fame in his town of Augsburg. The patronage of the Emperor had passed him by. He was generally in arrears with his rent—often with his butcher's bill. The end of him at Augsburg was the sale of his furniture for a small debt to his brother Sigmund Holbein. The whole family seemed to have wrangled.

Probably it drove young Hans at sixteen to seek his career elsewhere. Old Hans was a fine artist—and knew it. Neglect galled him. Sold up by his brother, the old man seems to have drifted to Lucerne. He died at Isenheim in Alsace in 1524.

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1500

HANS BURGKMAIR
1473 – 1531

Meantime old Thoman Burgkmair's brilliant son HANS BURGKMAIR, born in 1473, had become a master of his guild in 1498, and was early under the Italian glamour—indeed, his small *Holy Family* at Berlin, painted in his later years, is wholly without indebtedness to the spirit of the fourteen-hundreds in which he was born. He became a master of the woodcut, of which his two hundred designs for the life of the Emperor Maximilian, called the *Weiskunig*, are famous—as is his share of the *Triumphzug*. Hans Burgkmair died at Augsburg in 1531; his son keeping up the studio till 1559. Vienna, Munich, and Augsburg are rich in his works.

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER
1497 – 1543

Born in 1497, the lad Hans Holbein heard the tales of the hated Borgian Pope, and of Cesare Borgia. The tale of Christopher Columbus and the discovery of the eastern passage was common talk. A year or two after Henry VIII of England fought Flodden Field, the youth Hans Holbein, but eighteen (1515), is revealed as being at Basle and settled there. He seems to have made a mark at once. His earliest known work, a small *Virgin and Child* at that town,

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is dated 1514. Amongst the other early works at Basle are a *Virgin*, crowned; a clean-shaven *Young Man*, probably meant for St. John; and several rude paintings of the Passion of Christ, of which are *The Last Supper*, the *Scourging of Christ*, the *Mount of Olives*, *Christ taken Captive*, *Pilate washing his Hands*—all the Passion pictures being on linen. At once we find Holbein a realist in painting emotion and in his treatment of the figure—at eighteen, for this work is of 1515. But this year was by no means confined to sacred pictures; in it he painted his famous table-top with humorous designs, including the artistic jest of the realistic letter, spectacles, and writing materials that looked as if they could be picked up—now at Zürich—a work the young Holbein wrought for Hans Ber early in 1515, for Hans Ber marched to his doom as standard-bearer with the troops that went to the two days' bloodshed of Marignano. The painting of "Nobody," who is always accused of doing the wrong thing, suited Holbein's sense of humour. But Hans was to paint in the same year, at eighteen, a portrait that announces him one of the masters of his age—the exquisite fair-haired *Unknown Youth* in scarlet at Darmstadt. And towards the end of the year he made in ten days for his friend Erasmus, then at Basle, the eighty-two little marginal pen-and-ink drawings in Erasmus's copy of his satirical "Praise of Folly" (*Encomion Morias*), which Erasmus had published through the famous printer, Johannes Froben, at Basle in 1514—Holbein's illustrated copy for Erasmus is now at Basle. For Froben, to whom the young artist probably owed his friendship with the famous Erasmus, and to whom Holbein owed considerable employment on arriving at Basle, he made the well-known designs for title-borders, alphabets, and publisher's devices and bookplate. Froben also employed Holbein's

elder brother—the reason probably for Ambrosius following Hans to Basle.

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Indeed, like the thorough artist he was, the young fellow put his hand to any decoration; and in the next year, 1516, we find him painting the famous signboard for a schoolmaster, and again displaying his rich humour. But the serious side of his art shows him already a master. Of this year are the fine portraits of the Burgomaster *Jakob Meyer* and Dorothea Kannegiesser, the second *Wife of Jakob Meyer*, of whom Basle also holds the precious sketches by Holbein. By these sketches hangs a tale. It will be seen that the superb drawings that Holbein made, all his life long, were wrought with intense will; and that he wrote the details of colour beside them—for it was his habit to paint the portrait from them from memory. Drawing his portrait with great precision, he never lost the forms, but laid the colours thereafter in flat tones, slightly modelling the flesh. The result was a richness of harmony that has stood the test of time astounding well, and created a splendour of colour that is very characteristic of Holbein's genius.

At Basle is Holbein's bust-painting of *Adam and Eve*, painted in oils on paper in 1517; but 1517 was to hold a large work for Holbein—he went to Lucerne to decorate with large paintings the inside and outside walls of the house of the magistrate Jakob von Hertenstein. And he wrought for it—inside, religious subjects; subjects of the life of the day; fables of the fountain of youth—outside, historical pictures of Greece and Rome and later legends. Unfortunately the house was pulled down about 1824, and copies alone remain to us.

His much restored *Last Supper*, at Basle, has been the cause of the hot dispute whether Holbein ever went to

Milan or not, founded as it is on Leonardo da Vinci's great work thereat.

However, Holbein came back to Basle, being admitted to the Painters' Guild on the 25th of the September of 1519, two or three weeks before he painted his well-known portrait-bust of the learned and artistic *Bonifacius Amerbach*, who afterwards collected Holbein's works, now at Basle.

It was in 1520 that Luther published "On the Babylonian Captivity," which held the germ of the Reformation. Henry VIII of England, who, with Francis I of France, was the defeated candidate against Charles V for the Empire, wrote his "Defence," for which Pope Leo gave him the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Young Holbein would hear all this from Erasmus—would hear Erasmus's witty comments upon it all.

The 3rd of July in 1520 saw Holbein a sworn citizen of Basle, and, in order to qualify as a master of his guild, married to Elsbeth, a widow with two children; and his superb *Drawing of Himself* in coloured chalks at Basle shows him as he then was, at twenty-three.

For seven years thereafter Holbein wrought his great art in Basle; and the fine collection of drawings at Basle proves how varied was his genius in these years of his twenties—portraits, wash-drawings of designs for stained-glass windows (heraldic and religious), and the like. Fortunately also, Holbein has left us an heraldic drawing on wood on the title-page to a book on Freiburg, printed in 1520—*The Patron Saints of Freiburg*.

Unfortunately (since they have long since perished), Holbein's success at Lucerne brought him much wall-painting on the fronts of houses in Basle, of which the dancing peasants were famous, giving the name to the "Dance House." Holbein in these wall-paintings was

much given to his old jest of painting some detail with a realism that tricked the eye. He seems also, from drawings at Basle, to have designed costumes for ladies.

However, in the July of 1521, Holbein started upon his great task of decorating the inside of the great Council-chamber in the Town Hall with frescoes, unfortunately long since perished, though some sketches and copies remain. But fortunately he wrought the while several paintings in oil which render him immortal—of these is the wondrous, tragic, and haunting *Christ in the Tomb* (1521), astoundingly painted, and setting Holbein amongst the great masters. Of 1522 is the *Virgin of Solothurn* (or *Zetter Madonna*), which was found by Zetter being used as the footboard on which the painters and plasterers stood to do their work, fortunately face downwards, in restoring a chapel; whilst Carlsruhe possesses the two panels of *St. Ursula* and *St. George*. And of this same year of 1522 was Holbein's famous design for the woodcut title-border of the *Table of Cebes*, originally intended for the Latin New Testament of Erasmus; Holbein designing in the same year another title for Luther's translation of the New Testament published by Adam Petri, whose printer's mark was a child riding upon a lion; for whom also in 1523 Holbein designed the title to his small octavo edition of the New Testament in the common tongue, and for whom again later in the year he designed several of the many cuts for the translation of Luther's Old Testament; and again in the same year he designed many woodcuts for Wolff's edition of Luther's New Testament, and the exquisite little *Circular Portrait of the Aged Erasmus* for Froben. It was in 1523 that Erasmus repeatedly sat to Holbein for portraits, of which paintings Erasmus sent two to England and one

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to France; one of the English *Portraits of Erasmus* being given by Charles I to Louis XIII, now at the Louvre—the famous "writing Erasmus." The French copy came back to Basle—the oil-portrait on paper—for Holbein himself took it to the collecting Amerbach at Avignon. Hans made the journey an excuse for a considerable stay in France—two drawings at Basle prove his visit to Bourges, being from the *Effigies of Duke Jehan de Berry* and his consort in the cathedral thereat. The fourth *Portrait of Erasmus with Froben* is lost.

In 1524 and 1525 raged the Peasants' War.

To 1524 and 1525 probably belong the undated *Eight Small Paintings of the Passion of Christ* in one frame at Basle, which was long at the Town Hall there, to which they were taken from the altar above which they had once stood, in order to save them from the iconoclastic fury of 1529. Unfortunately they have been cruelly restored. Hampton Court Palace contains a *Touch me Not* (or *Risen Christ*), which is attributed to Holbein.

And of the same period are the two shutters of an altar at Freiburg in Breisgau, painted for Hans Oberriedt, a councillor of Basle—the central part fell to the fury of the iconoclasts. The shutters are *The Nativity* and the *Adoration of the Three Wise Men from the East.* At Basle is the small double-picture painted in brown and blue, in oils—the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa.* The paintings in brown for the organ-case of Basle minster and the sketches for them are at Basle, as well as several sketches for pictures that have probably been lost or destroyed—the black-and-white water-colour on paper of the *Virgin Nursing the Infant*; the wash-drawing on a red ground of the *Infant Christ learning to Walk*; the black-and-white on a grey ground of *Christ bearing the Cross* (Holbein designed a

XIII

HOLBEIN

1497–1543

GERMAN SCHOOL OF AUGSBURG

"THE WRITING ERASMUS"

(Portrait de Didier Érasme)

(LOUVRE)

Painted in oil on panel. 1 ft. $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 1 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0·42 × 0·32).

woodcut of the Christ much like this); the wash-drawing on red paper of a *Nude Woman*, and others.

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We now come to the famous woodcuts for which Holbein made his designs between 1523 and 1526—the earliest is the *Alphabet of the Dance of Death*, cut by his greatest engraver Lützelburger, who came to Basle in 1523 and died in 1526. Holbein followed it with his alphabet of children's games; another with merriments at a country fair, and the like. But the *Dance of Death Alphabet* had the widest vogue. The Dance of Death had for long held the morbid fancy of Germany before Holbein came—indeed, the Dominicans had always joyed in the grim subject—Death who comes to all, high and low, rich and poor, great and small, king and emperor, bishop and soldier, merchant and scholar, monk and harlot, nun and jester—and, in his alphabet of the Dance of Death, Holbein created the most famous alphabet of all time.

The success of the alphabet led Holbein to develop the idea and create his great sequence of woodcuts of the *Dance of Death*, also cut by Lützelburger, which made him vast fame. The first edition held forty woodcuts; the second forty-one. Eight cuts were added after Lützelburger died—treating of the manners of the age. Lützelburger also cut Hans Holbein's ninety-one "large" woodcuts for the Old Testament for Trechsel. The *Dance of Death* was taken by pedlars throughout Europe, and Rubens vowed that he learnt his first lessons in art from them.

Lützelburger cut for Holbein two works besides which have a large significance. The Reformation was now raging; and Holbein designed a satiric headpiece for a broadside on behalf of the Reformers, which, from its scarcity, is presumed to have been suppressed by the magistracy of Basle owing to its bitter onslaught on the

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selling of Indulgences by the Pope; and another as a head-piece to Dr. Johannes Copp's *Evangelical Calendar*, 1527, in which Christ as the Light illumines the world, whilst the Pope and priesthood turn their backs on Him. The religious strife now reached Basle, and the artists suffered neglect, Holbein suffering as to his earnings with the rest, being glad of the paltry pay for painting the shields of the magistracy on public buildings. However, in this year of 1526, his old patron Jakob Meyer came to his aid, and commissioned the great *Meyer Altarpiece*, known as the *Madonna of the Burgomaster Meyer*, which is accounted Holbein's chief religious painting. The old Burgomaster stood to the old faith, whilst the Reformation won to favour in Basle; and, with his party in a minority in the Council, he publicly announced his faith by ordering the altarpiece with himself and family painted therein as donor, now at Darmstadt—a copy is at Dresden. The portrait-sketches of *Jakob Meyer*, of his wife *Dorothea*, and their daughter *Anna* in chalks are at Basle. The famed altarpiece is in superb condition, in all the full richness of its glowing colour.

Basle holds two "ideal" portraits of a blonde beauty, painted in 1526, when Holbein lacked orders, with iconoclasm in the air—the famous *Lais Corinthiaca*, 1526, and *Venus* its companion picture, in which the mistress of Holbein is presumed, since he was known as Apelles, whose mistress was the famous beauty Lais of Corinth—the beauty here seen was a daughter of the noble family of Offenburg. Her father died whilst Dorothea was quite young; the mother, a woman of the basest life, married the girl to a debauched young aristocrat, Joachim von Sultz. When Holbein painted the shameless girl she was about twenty-two. Dorothea Offenburg now seems to have caused

considerable trouble in Holbein's life; but whether so or not, the painter began to look across the world.

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Erasmus, who had long been disturbed by the conviction that Holbein's gifts needed a larger outlet than Basle could give, and a more profitable one, recommended him to his friend Thomas More, the great English statesman and scholar, who was soon to become Lord Chancellor to Henry VIII; and More promising in reply to Erasmus that he would do all that lay in his power for the "marvellous artist," Holbein left Basle in the autumn of 1526, in his twenty-ninth year, to make his eventful journey to England by way of Antwerp—a journey that was to have a prodigious effect upon his life and career.

That Holbein should be a friend of Erasmus made him sure of a welcome in the country-house of Thomas More "at the village of Chelsea"; indeed he had already designed for More's "Utopia," published by Froben in 1518, the border of its dedication page. At once Holbein, through the powerful influence of More, was busy with portraits of celebrities, as well as painting Thomas More himself again and again; and he painted the famous group of More's family known as *The Household of Sir Thomas More*, of which the sketch is at Basle, but the original in tempera on canvas has vanished. The Royal Collection at Windsor contains the fine drawings in chalks of most of the heads. Of this period also were the portraits painted of *Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury*, and *Fisher, Bishop of Rochester*, of which the superb drawings are at Windsor—whilst of the two paintings of the Archbishop, one is in the Louvre, another at Lambeth Palace. The *Stokesley, Bishop of London*, is at Windsor, where also is the great portrait painted of the chivalrous *Sir Henry Guildford*, Master of the Horse to bluff King Hal.

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The king held young Guildford in high esteem and close affection; but Guildford, for all his bright ways, bluntly opposed the marriage with Anne Boleyn without Papal sanction; incurring the enmity of the beauty who threatened that he should lose office when she became queen, to which he replied by saying that he would spare her all concern, he forthwith resigned his state. Guildford died in the May of 1532.

The Prado holds a *Portrait of an Old Gentleman in Black*, painted during this visit. The Louvre has the portrait of *Nicholas Kratzer of Munich*, Astronomer-Royal, dated 1528; Dresden the small double portrait of *Thomas Godsalve and his son John*, dated 1528; Munich the *Sir Bryan Tuke* with Death standing behind him.

The summer of 1528 saw Holbein back again at Basle; and he took with him drawings of several portraits which he had painted in England during his visit, of which are the *Sir Nicholas Carew*, Master of the Horse; a *Man and his Wife*, evidently personages; an *Unknown Lady*, a fine portrait, in which she wears the typical headdress of the English Court; the *Young Man Unknown* in a wide-brimmed hat, and the Berlin portrait in body-colour of an *Unknown Man with a Beard.*

Holbein now bought a house at Basle. Basle possesses the painting of *Holbein's Family*—his wife Elsbeth with their two eldest children, Philip and Catherine. This boy Philip became a goldsmith, being apprenticed to it in Paris, and after much wandering settled at Augsburg where he founded the family which was raised to the nobility by the Emperor Matthias as the Holbeins of Holbeinsberg. The picture, painted life-size in oils on paper, is cut out from the background and mounted on a panel.

Of Holbein's children, by the way, were two others: the

boy James became a goldsmith of London, and the girl Küngolt, like her elder sister Catherine, married at Basle.

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But Holbein had come back to Basle to fall on evil days. Religious strife was tearing the city in twain. The Council, to its eternal honour and dignity, issued an edict which should be written in every man's heart, and over the portals of every church, that "No man should call another Papist or Lutheran, heretic, adherent of the new faith or of the old; but each should be left unharassed and unscorned in his own belief." The order was issued to a people hot with passion, each for his own parochial religion. At the Easter of 1528 the pictures were taken down from many churches; 1529 saw the bigot outbreak of iconoclasm; the Council, unable to stem the fury of the fanatics, forthwith published the decree against the setting up of pictures in churches.

In 1529 Holbein was driven to designing patterns for the goldsmiths—dagger-sheaths and the like; and the woodcut of *Erasmus in a Framework* is of this time, as frontispiece to the works of Erasmus—sometimes called *Erasmus with the God Terminus*. But Holbein was near done with designs for the printers of Basle—it was now almost a sin to set a decoration in a religious book!

The narrowness of the factions disgusted Erasmus, who, with his friend Amerbach, heavy at heart, left Basle and went to Freiburg. Here Holbein visited them, and painted the small *Portrait of Erasmus*, his hands on an open book, dated 1530, now at Parma. Basle possesses the little *Round Portrait Miniature of Erasmus* in oils of the same period, and Hanover a similar round portrait miniature in oils by Holbein of *Melanchthon*.

The summer of 1530 saw Holbein commissioned to

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complete the great wall-paintings of the Council Chamber in the Town Hall of Basle, for which he wrought the *King Rehoboam spurning the Deputies of the People* and the *Samuel announcing to Saul the Wrath of God*, which have long since perished, but the sketches for which are at Basle.

These two works, large as they were, could not keep Holbein from want, for he had to descend to the most paltry employments for the Council—painting the clocks on the Rhine-gate in the autumn of 1531 for fourteen florins; though this sounds extravagant in comparison with the seventy-two florins for the two large wall-paintings! Holbein got him to dreaming of London again. Sir Thomas More was now in the highest office in the State, being made Lord Chancellor. The painter saw nothing but ruin facing him in Basle. So he shook the dust of Basle from his feet and set out for England. He was scarce settled in London again when the Council of Basle wrote to him in flattering terms to offer him a fixed salary; but they were too late—Holbein came to a London that made much of him. Unfortunately, when he arrived, Sir Thomas More had given up his high office; but Holbein found warm welcome in the community of the German merchants who were a world apart in London, living in the "Steelyard" which belonged to the Hanseatic League, their warehouses and dwellings grouped about their old guildhall, with their garden and their wine-house or tavern. To the Steelyard on the Thames came the trade of the East, and here the spices of the East became English merchandise. Holbein arrived in London to find Warham and Colet dead, and Sir Thomas More in disgrace.

So 1532 and 1533 saw Holbein at work on portrait after portrait of the German merchants of the Steelyard, of which Berlin possesses to-day one of his exquisite master-

pieces, the fair-haired young *George Gisse* (or Gyze) "with the carnations," dated 1532, in the sitter's thirty-fourth year, in which Holbein cunningly wins the admiration of the Philistine to whom deception of the eye appeals by detailed realism, at the same time that he so welds the whole together as to create a fine work of art.

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At Vienna Count Schönborn possesses a portrait of a *Young Man*, dated 1532; Windsor Castle has a bearded *Man*, said to be the goldsmith Hans of Antwerp; whilst of 1533 were the *Derich Tybis of Duisburg* at Vienna, and the *Unknown Man*, with fair beard, at Berlin. Prague is said to possess a miniature of *Holbein* by himself, of this year.

He also painted the two great allegorical pictures for the old guild-house in distemper on canvas—the *Triumph of Wealth* and the *Triumph of Poverty*, of which famous works are copies, and a small sketch, at the Louvre; and for the Steelyard he designed the most admired decorations of the pageant of the 31st of May 1533, in which Anne Boleyn rode to her coronation from the Tower to Westminster. So, for several years, Holbein was fully employed by the German merchants of the Steelyard until 1536.

Thereafter he came into the wilful royal favour. How, it is not known. Sir Thomas More was out of the royal friendship, owing to his disapproval of the breach with Rome—indeed, he went to the scaffold on the 6th of the July of 1535, alongside the eighty-year-old Bishop Fisher, for the old faith.

However, Holbein was in touch with certain gentlefolk of the Court by 1533, for we find him in that year painting the portrait of *Robert Cheseman*, the falconer to the king, now at The Hague; but Holbein began to approach nearer to the royal circle in 1537, when he painted the double portrait of *The Ambassadors* in which the tricky painting of

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a skull in the foreground, so elongated as only to come into its right perspective when seen at an angle, caused so much confusion amongst the wiseacres of bygone years—now in the National Gallery, accounted one of the greatest of his works, chiefly probably owing to its large size. The portraits are of *Jean de Dinteville, the French Ambassador to the English Court in* 1532-33, *and his friend Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur*, ambassador to Charles v, who was visiting Dinteville at the time. Holbein's portrait of *Cromwell* is of about 1533-34—the creator of the English Church. In 1535 was published Coverdale's translation of the Bible into English, dedicated to the king, for which Holbein designed the title-page, with a portrait of Henry viii in the woodcut. Henry was already setting the new fashion for men to wear beards. Holbein also designed at this time his satirical attacks on the monks in the woodcuts for Cranmer's Catechism. The series of small original satirical drawings of *The Passion*, once belonging to the Earl of Arundel, have vanished. To 1535 belongs the portrait of *Nicolas Bourbon de Vandoeuvre*, the poet, of which Windsor Castle possesses the Holbein drawing, from which he afterwards made the wood-drawing for Bourbon's book of Latin poems (1538). Brunswick has the *Ambros or Cyriac Fallon.*

The art of the miniaturist was now being employed in portraiture; and Holbein was one of its most exquisite practitioners, having learnt the art by seeing the Netherlandish Lucas Horebout at work, who was at the English Court. Dürer had greatly admired the work of Horebout's sister, then at Antwerp, Susanna Horebout, who was now the wife of one of the Royal Archers, and settled in London.

Of Holbein's art in true miniature, a *Sleeping Cupid* on

XIV

HOLBEIN

1497–1543

GERMAN SCHOOL OF AUGSBURG

"GEORGE GISZE"

(Royal Museum, Berlin)

ivory was famous in his day; and the little *Henry Brandon, son of the Duke of Suffolk*, at Windsor, is dated 1535. In the Seymour family are the *Henry VIII* and *Jane Seymour*, his young queen after the death of the doomed Anne Boleyn, whose pageant Holbein had celebrated, both dated 1536, the year of Jane Seymour's coming to the crown—the year also in which Holbein became Court-painter, and knew a regular salary, entering upon that triumphant career in which he painted the immortal portraiture of the King and his Court and the great ones of the land.

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First comes the *Jane Seymour*, now at Vienna. In 1537 Holbein painted a large portrait-group on the wall of the King's Chamber at Whitehall—*Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII, and Jane Seymour*, which was destroyed by the fire that raged in Whitehall in 1698. At Hampton Court is a small copy of it of Charles II's day; and part of the cartoon for it in black-and-white distemper belongs to the Duke of Devonshire, whilst Munich possesses the great drawing of *King Henry VIII* which Holbein made for it, as was his habit. This portrait of the king, straddling, bluff, dominating, arm akimbo, a hand toying with the cord of his dagger, has created the picture of Henry VIII for all time—it was copied again and again. Holbein himself used the drawing of it for his large woodcut frontispiece to Hall's *Chronicle*. The king clearly grew to like the man; he at least trusted and admired him. "I could make seven earls out of as many hinds any day; but out of seven earls I could not make one Holbein," said the king.

Dresden owns the great painting of the *Sieur de Morette*, or, as some think, the king's goldsmith *Hubert Morett*, who poses himself on the model of bluff King Hal of the Whitehall fresco—a rich and splendid achievement. It

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must be remembered that Holbein was designing much gold and silver work for the king, as his two sketch-books (one at the British Museum and the other at Basle) prove —the Bodleian at Oxford has his design for the famous tall cup for the queen, Jane Seymour. In 1537 Holbein painted *Sir Richard Southwell's* portrait, now at the Uffizi—Southwell who had done most to bring about the fall of Sir Thomas More.

On the death of Jane Seymour in the October of 1537, Thomas Cromwell and the King's Council looked about for a marriageable princess, though the king showed no keen desire for a wife. However, at the end of a long list, Henry seems to have roused at the prospect of the Duchess of Milan—Christina of Denmark, who had become the widow of Sforza, Duke of Milan, at thirteen. The princess was daughter to that Frederick II, King of Denmark, whom we have seen at banquet with the young Emperor Charles V, and being painted during the banquet by Dürer —she was daughter, then, of Queen Isabella, sister to the Emperor Charles V; and Henry's marriage with the niece of the Emperor would smooth the insult he had thrust upon the Emperor by putting from him the Emperor's aunt, Katherine of Aragon. Holbein was sent to Brussels, where he arrived on the 10th of March 1538, the princess being with her aunt, the Governess of the Netherlands. John Hutton, the English minister, had already packed off an elaborate portrait of the princess to England; but, on Holbein's arrival, he sent hotfoot to prevent its delivery, writing to Cromwell that it was "neither so good as the occasion required, nor as Master Hans would be able to do it." Hutton had himself made a pen-picture of the duchess for the king, in which she is trotted forth like a filly for sale —"when she chanceth to smile there appeareth two pits in

XV

HOLBEIN

1497–1543

GERMAN SCHOOL OF AUGSBURG

"JANE SEYMOUR"

(IMPERIAL GALLERY, VIENNA)

The Queen is painted almost life-size.

her cheeks and one in her chin, the which becometh her excellently well." Hutton knew his man. Hutton immediately begged the Duchess Christina to give Holbein a sitting; and on the 12th of March, two days after his arrival, Holbein for three hours wrought upon the drawing from which he painted the famous masterpiece of *The Duchess of Milan* in her sixteenth year, now at the National Gallery. Whether Christina flinched from the fate of bluff King Hal's wives, or for whatsoever reason, the wooing seems to have gone no further than the making of the lady's portrait, for Christina preferred to become Duchess of Lorraine, sending with her portrait to Henry the witty message that she had but one head—if she had had two she would have placed one at his Majesty's service.

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The summer of the same year saw Holbein on the road to Upper Burgundy upon the English king's service, whatever it may have been. Holbein took advantage of this second journey of the year to go on to Basle to see his family; and arrived early in September to astonish the citizens with his rich apparel, being "clad in silk and velvet, whereas before he had to buy wine from the tap." To send to the tavern for wine was a sign of poverty. Holbein was, in fact, now well-to-do, besides being famous over Europe. His English salary meant from £300 to £400 a year in modern value. Basle realised that she had spurned her great; and the town lured "our dear citizen, Hans Holbein," with promise of a salary to return to Basle. Holbein put it to the Council that he could not leave the service of the King of England with the king's approval for two years; and the Council decided to wait, giving Holbein's wife a salary instead the while, Holbein to have leave when he came back to Basle to convey works of art to foreign courts two or three times a year, provided he did not "remain abroad

deceitfully on pretext of such journeys." To this lure Holbein gave his Yes. He certainly meant to return, and intended to paint his wall-paintings over again at his own charge, considering only one, the house of the dance, to be even "pretty good."

Holbein was never to see Basle again.

By the December of 1538 he was in London; five years thereafter, at the height of his power, of his fame, and of his fortune, he lay dead in London town, struck down by the Plague.

At the New Year of 1539 Holbein presented the king with a portrait of the little *Prince Edward*—it gave the king keen pleasure. Henry VIII guarded the child with pathetic precautions; he was a delicate little fellow. Hanover probably possesses this painting of the two-year-old heir to the English throne, in the well-known half-length. Basle has a medallion drawing of the little prince with a dog.

The July of the year 1539 saw Holbein again on a journey for the king's lovemakings. The Duchess of Milan had said a decided No. The astute and able Thomas Cromwell, perhaps suspicious of the intrigues of the Norfolk party and the lure of Katherine Howard, made the dangerous move—dangerous with the sensual king—of scheming a royal marriage with Anne of Cleves, a Protestant princess. To Germany went Holbein, with his portrait of the king, to paint the lady. In early August Holbein made her picture, returning to London on the 1st of September with the portrait of *Anne of Cleves*, of which the old story is told that he beautified her. You may see the painting at the Louvre. We see what we go to see: it is the custom to say that Holbein exaggerated nothing, but painted her the plain woman that she was, and to speak of

her as ugly beside Jane Seymour. Well, that is as it may be. As a matter of fact, Anne of Cleves was accounted a beauty amongst her own people—and there is no tittle of evidence to prove that Henry really thought her a plain woman, except for legal purposes later on. But it requires a heavy eyelid to see beauty in Jane Seymour; and beside her, Anne of Cleves surely shows more fleshly charms. As a matter of fact, most of these Tudor women seem to have been a plain set of dames; and the vaunted beauty of Katherine Howard, who was to take the place of the dull Anne of Cleves, would have been more convincing had Holbein's truthful brush never limned her. However disappointed King Hal, he never scowled at Holbein for his portrait—for we find the painter's salary doubled soon thereafter. Basle receded into the mists. Holbein is said to have designed the ceiling of the chapel in St. James's Palace, when Anne of Cleves was queen. Poor Anne of Cleves was to know but a two months' marriage—then to be pensioned off as a "sister" to the king.

WHEREIN WE SEE AUGSBURG SEND HER GREATEST SON INTO THE DESERT, WHO THEREBY COMES TO PAINT THE COURT OF BLUFF KING HAL OF THE MANY WIVES

It was upon Thomas Cromwell that the king's anger fell. The wily and villainous Norfolk had won. Cromwell went to the scaffold; the queen was divorced; and Katherine Howard the Catholic reigned in her stead on the day that Cromwell's head fell at the block. The crafty Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard, the old friend of Sir Thomas More, came to power. It is difficult to imagine as friends the noble Thomas More and this vile, cold-blooded, debauched Norfolk. However, to Holbein it all made little difference. At Windsor is the great portrait of the *Duke of Norfolk* in the hour of his triumph, in his sixty-sixth year, as Lord Chamberlain and Earl Marshal of England, he who vowed "'twas merry in England before this New Learning came in." He had come to power once

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before through a niece, and fallen. His star rose again with his niece Katherine Howard. He and Gardiner came to the royal favour. At Windsor also is the miniature of *Katherine Howard* the queen, cousin to Anne Boleyn, with the miniature of *Anne of Cleves* that also hangs there.

In 1541 Holbein painted the *Miniature of Charles Brandon*, second son of the Duke of Suffolk, aged three, that hangs at Windsor with the earlier portrait of his elder brother. Berlin has a half-length portrait of a *Man with a Beard* of this year, and Vienna another half-length, the fine painting of a *Young Man*; Vienna also has the portrait of a *Lady Unknown*; Frankfort the profile portrait of the bearded *Simon George of Cornwall.* But the number of portraits by Holbein either with name of the person or without, but without date, is very large. Fortunately Windsor contains a superb collection of over eighty of his chalk portraits for a large number of his paintings, mostly celebrities of the day, including the fine *Lady Parker*, the *Reskymeer, a Gentleman of Cornwall*, and the *Lady Vaux.* These very portrait-drawings ran narrow escapes. The selling of many of Holbein's works to the Continent during the Commonwealth, the fire at Whitehall, his wasted art in fresco, all doomed much of his painting. The Windsor drawings knew touch-and-go towards destruction: sold to France, they were bought back by Charles I, from whom they went to the Earl of Pembroke, thence to the Earl of Arundel, thence to Charles II under Sir Peter Lely's urging. Then a drawer at Kensington Palace knew their tumbled state during the years of the Georges. Their present honour and frames and place are due to the Prince Consort.

At Windsor also is the silverpoint elaborate composition carried out in miniature of the *Queen of Sheba and King*

WHEREIN WE SEE AUGSBURG SEND HER GREATEST SON INTO THE DESERT, WHO THEREBY COMES TO PAINT THE COURT OF BLUFF KING HAL OF THE MANY WIVES

Solomon. In 1542 appeared Holbein's last woodcut design, the portrait of *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, the favourite of the king, for the back of the title-page to the elegy on Wyatt, called "Naenia," he having died in 1541. The Louvre possesses the painting of *Sir Henry Wyatt*, long held to be Sir Thomas More; Henry Wyatt must not be confused with Sir Thomas Wyatt. Windsor has a portrait-drawing of the *Prince of Wales* wrought in this year, the painting from which has vanished; and the Hague has a portrait of a *Young Man with Falcon on wrist* of 1542. Holbein is said to have painted himself in this year; and in 1543 he painted himself twice, one of the portraits being in miniature now at the Wallace—but the other portrait is gone (an engraving of the miniature was made by Vorsterman and by Wenzel Hollar, which Hollar engraved many of Holbein's English portraits). Holbein was now forty-five, and had but another year to live. He has followed the fashion of the Court and grown a beard. In the summer of 1542 the tragedy of Katherine Howard was over—the prison full to overflowing with her accomplices. At the dawn of the 12th day of the February of 1542 she had walked to the block with all her wonted cheerful audacity, and her head fell from the blow of the axe. The 12th of July in 1543 saw Katherine Parr the sixth queen of bluff King Hal—she who, when the king offered her marriage, said, trembling, "It were better that I should be your majesty's mistress."

Holbein was now at work on his large portrait-group of the guild of *Barber-Surgeons receiving their Charter from Henry VIII*, which hangs in that city company's hall. He did not live to finish it. Of some of the eighteen members he also painted single portraits, of which is the famous painting of *Dr. John Chambers*, the king's physician, at eighty-eight, now at Vienna.

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In the autumn of 1543 the Plague came raging to London, and took Holbein with the others. Holbein's will of the 7th of October does not mention his family at Basle, for whom he had beforehand made careful provision, which gave them an easy life in the after-years; he had made small pretence of faithfulness to his wife, and he now made provision for his illegitimate children of tender years. Besides his own money, Holbein had handed to his wife the estate of his uncle, Sigmund Holbein of Berne, which had come to him.

Hans Holbein came to mastery in portraiture, above all, in portraits of a small size, and in the employment of chalks to that end. His colour in his smaller portrait-paintings is superb. His wealth of detail baulked his greatness in his larger works. In black-and-white he was remarkable; but he is not fit to touch the hem of Dürer's garment when he walks in that field. His Renaissance decorations gall the sense of beauty—and decoration surely for its chief intention has the aim of beauty. But in portraiture he stands amongst the greatest of the masters of all time, creating a style all his own, and achieving astounding well. He shed most of the Italian dangers from him; it is exactly when he is most German and least Italianesque that he is greatest. And in going to his native tongue, Realism, he wrought for us an immortal gallery of the men and women of his age. He began with bastard Renaissance ornament; he ended by rejecting it from his art.

It cannot have escaped notice that art had largely been fostered heretofore by cities. Municipal pride had given the painter's guild its chances. Holbein stands between the old and the new. The German town failed him; and he found in the wider atmosphere of Courts — of the

growing nationalities that were creating a new Europe—a wider scope for his art. The German failure in painting is largely due to the lack of German nationality and its incoherent state for some centuries.

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Dürer painted "the last of the knights," the Emperor Maximilian; Holbein comes with the new order. The king and the warrior no longer *ride* to great adventure, they have become the diplomats of the closeted room; princes have become middle-class; merchants have become princes—both are folk of the towns, the old open-air splendours have fallen from them. Affairs of state are frankly intrigues of the privy council-room.

Holbein came in a time of change. On either side of him the religious factions were at war between the old faith and the new. Holbein, like Erasmus, like many of the best men in the old Church, could lash the vilenesses of the age and of the Church to which they belonged; but they would not go the length of destroying the Church itself.

It is the habit to pit Dürer against Holbein. They have little ground for comparison. Dürer in his painting is infinitely beneath Holbein; in his engraving and woodcuts, where his imagination ranges to full flight, he is as incomparably beyond Holbein. Dürer was not a great colourist; nor in his portraiture does he approach Holbein.

Dürer has still one foot in the Middle Ages. Holbein stands free in the New Age. Dürer was born in 1471, Holbein in 1497—a whole world lies between these twenty-six years.

Of other painters of Augsburg were Ulrich Apt the Elder, Jörg Breu, and Gumpolt Giltinger. Augsburg

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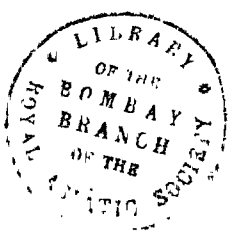
gave forth a fine portrait-painter in CHRISTOPH AMBERGER, who joined the Guild of Painters in 1530, dying between 1560 and 1565. Siena and Berlin both possess the famous *Portraits of Charles V* by him, painted in 1532, and Berlin his portrait of *Sebastian Münster*. Some of his portraits have long been given to Hans Holbein.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CHAPTER XVI

WHEREIN WE SEE GERMAN ART TAKE TWO HUNDRED YEARS TO DIE IN LINGERING SORROWFUL FASHION

WHEREIN WE SEE GERMAN ART TAKE TWO HUNDRED YEARS TO DIE IN LINGERING SORROWFUL FASHION

By the middle fifteen-hundreds great art in Germany had spent itself; and the fierce religious wars of the sixteen-hundreds blotted out the tradition. Frankfort-on-Main alone brought forth in 1578 a son, ADAM ELSHEIMER, dying in 1620-21, who was gifted with brilliant talents, and is memorable as having influenced Rembrandt. Elsheimer was born a year after Rubens, and early in the sixteen-hundreds was settled in Rome, his adopted city. He came to distinction in landscape-painting—in small, exquisitely finished works, which unfortunately landed him in dire poverty. London has an exquisite little *Tobias and the Angel* by him (and even here we see the forerunner of Claude Lorraine), and a *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.*

ROTTENHAMMER is more the type of artist in the evil days of the Italianism that overwhelmed German art in the sixteen-hundreds. He worked in Rome and Venice, imitating Tintoretto, and dying in Venice in 1623. The landscape in his little *Pan and Syrinx* at the National Gallery is said to have been painted by Jan Brueghel.

But the sixteen-hundreds which were to see the lamp of the Netherlandish genius leap up again and burst into splendour, meant death to the art of Germany.

LELY and KNELLER are sometimes claimed as German painters; but Lely was Netherlandish by blood, and both were Netherlandish by training; both wrought their art in England, and belong to the English achievement.

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Of the German achievement in the late sixteen-hundreds, little account need be taken. The best of those, who might have brought fame to Germany, went to Holland in youth, and became completely Dutch in vision and in art—the two OSTADES, CASPAR NETCHER, GOVAERT FLINK, JOHN LINGELBACH; and even of those that follow most were Dutch by training, though they went back to Germany to practise their art; whilst others should really be treated as Italians.

Of the historical painters were PAUL JUVENAL, born at Nuremberg in 1579, died at Pressburg in 1643—but he was son of a Dutch painter who had settled at Nuremberg. NICOLAS JUVENAL; JOACHIM SANDRART, born at Frankfort in 1606, died at Nuremberg in 1688, who was trained under Gerard Honthorst at Utrecht, then went to Italy; he was not only a fair artist but a writer upon art; CARL SCRETA, born at Prague in 1604, died thereat in 1674, a capable painter; MATTHIAS SIMBRECHT or Zimbrecht, born at Munich, died of the plague at Prague in 1680; JOHANN GEORG HEINTSCH, born in Silesia, died at Prague in 1713; HEINRICH SCHOENFELDT, born at Biberach in 1609, died at Augsburg in 1675.

Of the painters of the life of the day were HEINRICH Roos, born at Ottendorf in 1631, dying at Frankfort in 1685, trained at Amsterdam, and became an animal-painter, especially of sheep; he was also a fine etcher; his son and pupil, PHILIP Roos, known as ROSA DA TIVOLI, born at Frankfort in 1655, dying at Rome in 1705; CARL RUTHARD, painter of hunts; JOHANN PHILIP LAMBKE, born at Nuremberg in 1631, died at Stockholm in 1713, who painted battles and combats and the like; and FRANZ WERNER TAMM, born at Hamburg in 1658, dying at Vienna in 1724, who went to Italy, and learnt to paint

flowers and fruit; he later took up the Dutch manner of Weenix and Hondecoeter.

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Then the decline set in like an overwhelming flood. Of the historical painters was JOHANN KUPETZKY, born at Pössing in Upper Hungary in 1666, died at Nuremberg in 1740; WENZEL LORENZ REINER, born at Prague in 1686, dying there in 1748, who painted battles, architectural views, historical works; ADAM FRIEDERICH ŒSER, born at Prague in 1717, dying at Dresden in 1799; CHRISTIAN BERNARD RODE, born at Berlin in 1725, dying there in 1797, who, trained by Vanloo in Paris, became historical painter to Frederick the Great; JOHANN HEINRICH TISCHBEIN, born at Kloster Hayda, dying at Cassel in 1789, influenced by Vanloo, Boucher, and Watteau.

The seventeen-hundreds brought forth an artist in DIETRICH who had his day—a copyist of Rembrandt and Ostade and other mighty Dutchmen he was, and little more. Dresden is rich in him; but the National Gallery has the *Itinerant Musicians*, in which he reaches to his best.

DIETRICH

1712 – 1774

CHRISTIAN WILHELM ERNST DIETRICH, born at Weimar in 1712, and trained by his father, went to the studio of ALEXANDER THIELE at Dresden, where the young Dietrich was early in favour at Court. He journeyed to Italy in 1743, being made Court-painter to King Augustus of Poland on his return. Imitating Dutchmen such as Rembrandt and Ostade, Italians such as Salvator Rosa, and the German Heinrich Roos, he caught fashion by the skirts as she flew by, and came to wide vogue. He was a good etcher; colour being his weakness.

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Of the painters of the life of the people, FRANZ DE PAULA FERG, born at Vienna in 1689, died in London in 1740, painted fairs uncommonly well, of which Vienna has two good examples. DANIEL NICOLAS CHODOWIECKI, born at Dantzic in 1726, dying at Berlin in 1801, in his miniatures shows original gifts and vigour of handling which make him the finest German painter of the days of Frederick the Great; he saw with the eyes of truth, and had he left mythology and Shakespeare severely alone his repute would have been greater; he was an excellent etcher. He shows at times kinship with the art of Hogarth.

Of the painters of war were GEORGE PHILIP RUGENDAS, born at Augsburg in 1666, dying in 1742, who, trained by Isaac Fischer, evolved the life of the soldier with a truthful eye. AUGUSTUS QUERFURT, born at Wolfenbüttel in 1696, dying at Vienna in 1761, pupil to Rugendas, formed himself upon Wouverman. ELIAS RIEDINGER, born at Ulm in 1695, died at Augsburg in 1767, being brought up as a huntsman, took to art, and painted animals.

Of the portrait-painters were BALTHASAR DENNER, born at Hamburg in 1685, dying in 1749, who is a fine proof that mere imitation of Nature such as the painting of every hair and freckle and wrinkle has nothing to do with art, though this is not to say that Denner was incapable of art, for he did good things in spite of this obsession. DOMINICUS VON DER SMISSEN was the pupil, and became the brother-in-law, of Denner. CHRISTIAN SEIBOLD, born at Mayence in 1697, died at Vienna in 1768, was influenced by Denner; the Louvre has his *Portrait of Himself*. ANTON GRAF, born in Switzerland in 1736, and dying at Dresden in 1803, was one of the best painters of this group, and painted many celebrities of the day.

Of the landscape-painters were JOHANN JACOB HART-

MANN, born at Kuttenberg in Bohemia, a clever realist; CHRISTIAN GEORGE SCHÜTZ, born in 1718, and dying at Frankfort in 1791; JOHANN ALEXANDER THIELE, born at Erfurt in 1685, and dying at Dresden in 1752, began life as a common soldier, became Court-painter to King Augustus of Poland; JACOB PHILIP HACKERT, 1737-1807; SALOMON GESSNER, the poet, born at Zürich in 1734, and dying there in 1788, came to repute more as an etcher than in his paintings; FRANZ JOACHIM BEICH, born at Munich in 1663, and dying there as Court-painter to the Elector in 1748, was an idealist landscape-painter founding on Gaspar Poussin; CHRISTOPH LUDWIG AGRICOLA, born at Regensburg in 1667, dying in 1719, came under the glamour of Nicholas Poussin.

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Architectural painting brought forth LUDWIG ERNST MORGENSTERN, 1737-1819, given to the limning of church interiors.

MARTIN KNOLLER, born at Steinach in the Tyrol, and dying in 1804, was one of the pupils of Raphael Mengs at Rome, and became a vigorous painter of historical subjects, with a grip of action and a good sense of colour, whilst his portraits have distinction, though he could plumb the shallows of mawkish sentimentality when put to it. JOHANN VICTOR PLATZER, born in the Tyrol in 1704, died in 1767, who is the type of the pretty smooth painter of these years.

MENGS

1728–1779

But the most famous German of his day in the seventeen-hundreds was ANTON RAPHAEL MENGS, though so wide a borrower was he that he can scarce be called

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German at all. Nor in any sense was he German in his vision; his art was as polyglot as his life was cosmopolitan; he picked every pocket, speak the owner what language he liked.

Out of Bohemia, born in 1728, came Mengs, who saw the light at Aussig, on the Elbe, hard by the Saxon frontier, across which, at Dresden, his Danish miniature-painting father was Court-painter to the Saxon king; the miniature-painter christened the child after his art-gods Correggio and Raphael, Anton Raphael Mengs. Born and christened in the artistic intention, the child was nursed for the artistic career. At thirteen the boy, taken by his fond father to Italy, was steeped in the masterpieces of the great dead at an age when a healthy child is breaking windows, or playing at robbers, or skilled in plaguing his elders—to return in 1744 a youth of sixteen so astoundingly skilled in the use of coloured chalks that his king, Augustus the Third, granted him an allowance. At eighteen the youth and doting father were again on the road to Rome, art's Mecca in the sixteen-hundreds and seventeen-hundreds—the blight and destroyer of the hand's skill and eye's vision of most that entered her gates with promise never to be fulfilled—and the young fellow there painted *The Holy Family* that made him famous. To Rome he took his soul as well as his heart and ambition—for he joined the Catholic Church, and soon thereafter married the beautiful girl who had sat to him as model for his Madonna in the picture that had brought him at a leap into fame. That fame became prodigious. It has waned. The laurels that he once wore as lord of the fresco and the ceiling-piece and painter of the altarpiece are wilted, and will never again know the sap of evergreenness; for he wrought such works with a hand cold as death that essayed to create an art out

of the vision of the art of the dead—and no man shall better the thing he imitates. Mengs had seen life through pictures. But when he was set in the presence of Nature, much against his will, his hand created the work of art—and it was the portrait of the child that brought him to mastery. He returned to Dresden awhile as Court-painter in 1749, his twenty-first year; and the portrait brought forth all his best gifts—even though he wore the spectacles of the great dead. But he was fretting for his beloved Rome, whither he set out again in his twenty-fourth year, and was soon the slave of Winckelmann of comic name but earnest, classic-adoring eyes, who had turned his German intensity to worship of antique Rome and Greece—towards which his writings were soon also to be the chief guide, not only to Mengs but to the decaying art of the France of the last days of Louis Quinze. To the dreamy Mengs the unburying of Pompeii, begun in 1755, made a deep appeal; but Mengs did not, and could not, escape the charm and blithe atmosphere of the French spirit of elegance that had conquered the seventeen-hundreds over all Europe.

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It was in his thirty-third year that he was called to Spain by Charles the Third, her king, being made Court-painter there; and for ten years he wrought thereat, debauching the taste of the Spaniard, and befriending Goya. But as he worked, he came under the overwhelming force of the art that Velazquez had wrought; and even though he but borrowed again, his eyes were opened to the reality of life in some degree, and he painted portraits of the children of the Royal House which, whilst they hold much of the fantastic pose and stiffness of the gloomy Court of sombre pride that Velazquez has sensed in such consummate fashion, show also that the jocund century of the seventeen-hundreds had brought a smile even into the palace of the

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

kings of Spain. Velazquez came near to warming into life the cold blood of Mengs!

Mengs returned to Rome in 1771, his health shattered at forty-three by the deadly climate of the land that had so greatly honoured him. The air of the palace had stricken him down. The winter of 1772 he passed at Naples, keenly interested in the wall-paintings of Pompeii and Herculaneum. He went back to Madrid only to be further broken in health; and struggling back to Rome he died there in 1779, in his fifty-ninth year, and in his full powers. Mengs is the supreme type of the academic. By blood Scandinavian, breathing the air of Saxony, inspired by Flemish and Italian and Spanish art, schooled in Rome, he tried, his life long, to speak French with a strong Italian accent.

ANGELICA KAUFFMANN

1741 – 1807

MARIA ANGELICA KAUFFMANN, born at Chur in the Grisons in 1741, having been taught the mysteries by her father, Joseph Kauffmann, a commonplace painter of portraits, went to Italy with that father early in life, and drank deep of the Italian inspiration. Her portraiture and historic work, more particularly decorative work inspired by history, brought her to the front in England, whither she came to glitter awhile and take the town by storm in Reynolds's day. Of her life in England we shall see more when we come to the English achievement of which she was a distinct part, her sensitive nature at once becoming attune to the art of Gainsborough and Reynolds, and bearing her to a fine accomplishment in the English manner. Gifted with a charming sense of arrangement, with a rhythmic sense of grace and movement, she brought to the pretty

business a glowing sense of colour and a dexterous brush. Munich has her *Portrait of Herself*; but Burleigh House shows her at her best and largest endeavour, Lord Exeter possessing some fifteen of her works. She was a good etcher. Of her hysterical and wayward ways, and the fantastic idea that every man was in love with her, a fatuous conceit that brought her into the pathetic marriage with a gentleman's gentleman which sent her with shame out of England to live the remainder of her days in Rome, a broken-hearted woman, and to die there in 1807, the world knows well. Her exquisite decoration of the furniture of England's great period of the seventeen-hundreds makes all pieces painted by her amongst the gems of the world.

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THE GREAT FLEMISH PAINTERS OF THE SIXTEEN-HUNDREDS

THE FLEMISH MASTERS

Willem de Vos

"Hell" Brueghel

Van Balen 1575 – 1632

Tobias Verhaecht

Adam van Noort 1562 – 1641

Otto van Veen, "Vaenius," pupil to Zuchero 1558 – 1629

RUBENS

1577 – 1640

Pieter Neeffs 1577 – 1661?

Steenwyck 1580 – 1648

Snayers 1593–1669

Adrien van Utrecht 1599–1652-3

Van Oost 1600 – 1671

Sustermans 1597 – 1681

Essen 1606–1665-6

Snyders 1579 – 1657

Van Dyck 1599 – 1641

Jan Fyt 1609 – 1661

Teniers the Elder 1582 – 1649

Teniers the Younger 1610 – 1690

Boel 1622–1702

Van der Meulen 1632–1690

David de Koninck 1636–1699

Snyers 1681–1752

Hanneman 1601 – 1671

Walker 1610 – 1658

Dobson 1610 – 1646

"Old" Stone ? – 1653

Gandy 1619 – 1689

Jan de Reyn or van Reyn 1610 – 1678

Merian the Younger 1621 – 1687

David Beck 1621 – 1656

Gonzales Coques 1614 – 1684

Huysmans

Mol 1599 – 1650

Schut 1597 – 1655

Diepenbeeck 1596 – 1675

L. van Uden 1595 – 1672-3

P. de Vos 1592 – 1678

George Jamesone 1587 – 1644

Jan Wildens 1586 – 1653

Jordaens 1593 – 1678

Cornelis de Vos 1585–1651

Gaspard de Crayer 1582 – 1669

Cornelis Janssen van Ceulen 1593 – 1664

1600

CHAPTER XVII

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

We have seen the cradle of Flemish art to have been rocked in the city of Bruges. We have seen a mishap come to Bruges, and to her art, as the fourteen-hundreds ran out; for the sands ran in, and, with much mud, silted up the waters that flowed under the bridges of the picturesque old city of many chimes. We have seen her old-time greatness pass from her to Antwerp, her rival in Flanders in art and in wealth. And to Antwerp we have watched a mighty trade enter, Fortune pouring out her largesse in astounding profusion, so that, during the fifteen-hundreds, her commerce was near as vast as that of famed Venice.

Suddenly, out of the blue, fell what looked like ruin and disaster upon Antwerp as well as upon Bruges. Flanders passed to Spain, and became a part of the Spanish Netherlands, in 1555—and the awful hell of the Inquisition was let loose upon her thrifty citizens. And in this wise. The Princes of the House of Burgundy, as we have seen, were not only lords of Burgundy but of Flanders and Holland, amongst other wide domains. The Netherlands had passed to the House of Hapsburg with Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, on her marriage with the Emperor of Germany, Maximilian; and, through Mary's son Philip the Handsome, eventually came to Philip the Second of Spain in 1555. Now the diverse peoples, languages, and forms of government of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands foreboded no easy realm for any man—they were about as prickly a gift as the gods could have flung into the lap even

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of a man of the North, brought up to respect difference of character and to rule his fellows by the due encouraging of such differences to give of their best to the State; but to the narrow-eyed Philip the Second of Spain, his soul black with the sin and crimes of beating the brains of men into one narrow formula, the gift came as molten iron poured into his lap. Nor did his contempt for his Flemish peoples augur well for their comfort—nor for his. He at once fell foul of his Netherlanders; and his haughty and contemptuous and brutal acts towards them lost him their allegiance from the beginning.

Thirteen years after Philip came into this thorny heritage—an unlucky number, as the gossips have it—in 1568, he committed the unlucky blunder of sending the brutal and bigoted Duke of Alva to rule over the land. But the King of Spain had entered upon an act which was to shatter the power of Spain throughout the world. What looked like disaster for the Netherlands was the salvation of Holland and of Flanders. It welded the people together into an iron unity. In 1559 Count Egmont had raised the people to revolt in a fierce struggle to fling off the Spanish tyranny and to rid the people of the Inquisition. The land was torn with the bitter and ruthless strife for freedom. The blind fury of he Iconoclasts in 1566, who had gone about destroying the works of art in the churches (which led to many paintings being covered with a coat of black, and the Ten Commandments painted thereon to preserve the masterpieces from destruction), ought to have given the infamous Duke of Alva a caution as to how to rule over this people when he came to stamp out rebellion; he made the Netherlands instead a vast cockpit of war for religious and political freedom. Egmont and Count Horn were put to death in

1568. The execution of these two great patriots goaded the people to further fury. The cruelty and murderous tyranny of Alva, and his insane ferocity, roused the hatred of the Catholics as much as that of the Protestants; and by 1572 the whole country from end to end was in open and merciless revolt under the Prince of Orange, William the Silent, then on the edge of forty. The following year of 1573 saw Alva leave Flanders for ever. Three years later, in 1576, his successor, De Requesens, was dead of a fever. On the 8th of the November of 1576 the Northern and Southern Provinces entered into the close alliance of the Pacification of Ghent, vowed to driving the Spaniard into the sea. The rigorous and merciless orders issued by Philip the Second utterly failed. Three years later the Seven Northern Provinces ratified the Treaty of Ghent in the Treaty of Utrecht, whereby they swore mutual defence with life, goods, and blood against the Spaniard; and in the doing created the Dutch Republic of the Netherlands, wholly repudiating all allegiance to Philip. On the 5th of the July of 1581 the Seven United Provinces issued their Declaration of Independence—William the Silent, Prince of Orange, becoming sovereign over the land; and on his being foully assassinated at Delft on the 10th of July in 1584, three years thereafter, his son Maurice was elected to reign over the Dutch in his stead. Flanders alone remained a sullen part of the Spanish realm, and in a state of rebellion.

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

We have seen that in this period of the late fifteen-hundreds the Flemish art of the Netherlands had been settling into Italian mimicry, and was decaying—indeed, it is a wonder that it was practised at all.

But there was one about to rise in Flanders who was to bring immortal fame to his country. He was to have

every quality that is condemned by the critics and pedants as being part of the decay of Italy. Of the "vices" that they hurl at the heads of the Italians of the time, this man was to be compact—only in him they are called virtues! He was to be lord of the baroque; lord of the flamboyant—he was to be the very master of the "Jesuit style"! His name an immortality—Peter Paul Rubens.

RUBENS
1577 – 1640

Now it so happened that, when the Spanish blight fell upon Flanders, there was living in Antwerp a magistrate, a strange fellow to be judging his sinning fellow-men, one Jan Rubens by name. Our worthy Jan came of a family of honest burgesses of the city—he was son to an apothecary who also owned a grocery. But Jan had social ambition that was to lead him from the grocer's shop and the pounding of physics in the apothecary's mortar to strange adventure. He studied the law; went on the grand tour; became the "travelled man"; then settled down and married a merchant's daughter, the noble-souled Maria Pypelincks. He seems to have attempted in his single person the old Scots manœuvre—whereby one member of the family fought for the Stuart and one for the English, in order that, whatever the fortune of war, the estates should remain in the family—for Jan Rubens had toyed with Calvinism until the Spaniard came, when his conscience drove him to Catholicism, and, publicly professing his "error," he made submission to Spain. But when Alva came into Flanders, whether the worthy fellow blinked baffled at the difficulty of choice, not knowing which way victory might lie, or whether Alva's suspicious eyes had got to examining his earlier jugglings with

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Calvinism, or whether he grew nervous as to the amount of the true faith he would be made to swallow, Jan Rubens deemed it wisest to get packing, and 1568 saw him leave Antwerp hurriedly and set out for Cologne. He was certainly suspect of the heresies. Of a truth, it was a juggling business for a man of social ambition to decide as to which side was to win. That he henceforth toyed with Calvinism again is likely—as we shall see later. Whatsoever "errors" he repudiated, or faith he set upon his social altars, he soon made Cologne as uncomfortable for himself as was his native Flanders. At Cologne was living Anna of Saxony, queen to William of Orange, the Silent, great leader of the rebel Dutch—she was one of William the Silent's few mistakes. The magistrate of social ambitions that scorned the apothecary's shop and eke the vending of groceries, seems to have had a way about him, for the Silent William being away upon his wars he became the queen's lover. The affair was soon no great secret; indeed, worthy Jan probably had no wish to hide his conquest under the counter—nor could it have been kept, since the royal lady became a mother. She went to Siegen for the event; and worthy Jan Rubens hurriedly followed her to the same town. But Count Johann of Nassau, brother to Silent William of Orange, happened to be lord of the land, and promptly had Jan arrested and flung into prison. The penalty meant death. Our egregious and pedantic Doctor Rubens seems to have appealed to the grim and Silent William, putting it to him as a consolation that many great men in history—he quoted the outraged great—had suffered a like wrong with equanimity! But his plea seems to have had better substance of legal precedent than balm to heal wounded pride. The life of Jan Rubens was in Nassau's hand; but the wife of Rubens now showed the

noble stuff of which she was made, and which the man of social ambitions had naturally overlooked when a queen stooped to beckon. She begged his life of Nassau; not greatly inclined was Nassau for the scandal of a sister-in-law having found a lover in the apothecary's son to be published in the heroics of a public execution; and the worthy Jan Rubens escaped the scaffold. His wife at last brought him back to freedom also, and forgave him in letters that make noble reading. At Siegen, after two years of prison life, he was allowed to live under open arrest, on depositing a heavy sum of money as bail. The miserable Princess Anna of Saxony came to an end of her drinking and debaucheries by being thrust into an asylum. But whether at Antwerp or Cologne or Siegen, we might have let him and his scandal go unrecorded and forgot, and the world would have given him and his cares and rise on the social ladder but little thought, had it not been that at Siegen was born to him on the 28th day of June in 1577, being the eve of the day of Saints Peter and Paul, his sixth child, a boy whom they christened PETER PAUL RUBENS, who was to make the name of Rubens illustrious and immortal, and was to walk by right in that high social circle, the road towards which our worthy Jan had found so stony a wayfaring. Nassau contented himself with occasional sudden arrests which were but an excuse for seizing large amounts from the deposited bail. Nassau seems to have had a grim sense of humour. When Peter Paul Rubens was born Titian was lately dead, Holbein had been dead some thirty years, Antonio More and stout old Peter Brueghel had passed away.

The child inherited the great soul of his mother. The small Peter Paul being a few months old, his father and mother asked for and obtained leave to go to Cologne;

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William of Orange was happily remarried and the divorced Anna of Saxony dead. To Cologne the Rubens family went forthwith, and there the child grew to boyhood and was being educated when, in his tenth year, he lost his father. His mother, having embraced the Catholic faith, was allowed to return with her family to Antwerp in 1587, where, after a couple of years of good schooling, the eager, bright lad was soon ahead of his fellows. 'Twixt twelve and thirteen, under his mother's astute guidance, the boy entered the princely house of the licentious Princess Margaret de Ligne-Aremberg as page of honour, and picked up the courtly manner so needful for worldly success in his day. At thirteen, bound apprentice to his mother's kinsman, the landscape-painter TOBIAS VERHAECHT, he went therefrom to the studio of ADAM VAN NOORT (who seems to have been a drunken rough fellow) for the four years from fifteen to nineteen; at nineteen he went to the courtier and aristocrat OTTO VAN VEEN or Vaenius, a mannerist in the Italian style, and pupil to Zuchero, who had painted Queen Bess of England; and with Veen he stayed for four years, during which he was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke in 1598, until at twenty-three, in the spring of 1600, he took the road to Venice, where he set himself to the study of the art of Titian (who had died the year before Rubens came into the world) and above all of Paolo Veronese, now dead some twelve years, but whose splendid inspiration remained to create the sumptuous art of Peter Paul Rubens—and through Rubens the full flowering of the Flemish genius, to set aflame a century or more of the art of France, and to fire the creative genius of England.

The *Holy Trinity* at Antwerp Museum is supposed to be one of his earliest paintings, as are the *Annunciation* at Vienna, a portrait of a *Young Man*, and the *Old Lady in a*

Black Veil (supposed to be his own mother, but this is much later work), both at Munich, and the Westminster *Pausias and Glycera.*

The Italian journey was now become a part of an artist's education. Rubens at twenty-three was already shaped and marked out for the society of the great. He was a born courtier. A cultured man of many languages, a witty and bright companion, and even thus early a painter of prodigious promise, he soon attracted the friendship of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, who not only made him his Court-painter, and became his patron, but his intimate; with the Duke, in the October of this 1600 in which he had arrived in Venice, Rubens went to Florence to the marriage by proxy of Marie de Médicis, second wife and queen to Henry IV of France—she whose marriage Rubens was to glorify twenty years afterwards in the long sequence of huge paintings that hang upon the walls of the Louvre to-day, planned and largely worked upon by him from his designs. For Gonzaga he painted portraits and other pictures. In 1601 he was sent to Rome to copy some of the old masters—genius whilst it lives is nearly always accounted inferior in powers to the dead — so Rubens copied old masters! It was whilst at Rome that he received orders from Flanders—Archduke Albrecht of Austria (who had married Isabella, daughter of Philip II of Spain, and who had been made Governor of the Spanish Netherlands by Philip just before the death of the Spanish king in 1598, and had been a Cardinal), sent to Rome to ask Rubens to paint for him for his old church at Rome three altarpieces—the *Crowning with Thorns*, the *Erection of the Cross*, and the *Invention of the Cross*, which came to England in 1811, were sold, and are now at Grasse. The April of 1602 saw Rubens in Mantua again. His drawings

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at the Albertina of *Saints Peter and Paul* show that the grand manner of Michelangelo had not been lost upon him; and his copies of Titian at Vienna and at Dresden show him paying homage to the great Venetian.

In 1603, in his twenty-sixth year, Rubens was sent to the Court of Philip the Third of Spain by the Duke of Mantua. Rubens was by gifts a courtier; but the diplomatic side of his present journey was probably of the slightest. He was in person to take certain paintings to King Philip III and his minister, the Duke of Lerma. Unfortunately the constant rain and the rough journey ruined Rubens's pictures; but, during the delay in getting audience of the king, Rubens restored the damaged works and painted two new ones—the *Heraclitus the Weeping Philosopher*, and *Democritus the Laughing Philosopher*, now at Madrid. Thereafter, working until the autumn for the Duke of Lerma, he painted for him an *Equestrian Portrait* and the thirteen single figures of Christ and the Twelve Apostles, now at Madrid, except the vanished *Christ*—the drawings are at the Albertina and replicas in Rome. The Munich *Franciscan Priest* is said to have been painted in Spain. Early in 1604 he was back in Mantua, at work upon the three paintings for the Jesuit Church, the *Trinity*, the *Baptism* (now at Antwerp), and *Transfiguration of Christ* (now at Nancy). In 1605 Rubens was copying two Correggios for the Emperor Rudolf II; and in 1606 he was again in Rome painting *The Cock and the Pearl*, now at Aix-la-Chapelle, and an altarpiece for an Oratory which he did not finish, being recalled to Mantua by the Duke with whom he went to Genoa in 1607; and his interest in the buildings is shown by his drawings, which were etched in one hundred and thirty-six plates for the "Palazzi di Genova." He painted for the Jesuit Church at Genoa the

two altarpieces, the *Circumcision* and the large *St. Ignatius healing a Demoniac and restoring Dead Children.* It was at Milan on his return from Genoa that he made those drawings from Leonardo's "Battle of Anghiari" and the "Cena," now at the Louvre.

That Rubens was very deeply interested in the great Italian achievement is shown by the influences that dominate his work at this time. His work shows study of Veronese and reveals Titian; the National Gallery *Triumph of Julius Cæsar* pays tribute to Mantegna; and the Liechtenstein *Pietà* proves Rubens's admiration of Caravaggio; whilst even Giulio Romano won admiration from him. Of this time also is his *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine.* Being in Rome again in 1608 he now finished the altarpiece of the Oratory of the Chiesa Nuova, but owing to the dissatisfaction about it he painted instead the three pictures, still there, of the *Queen of Heaven* with *Three Saints* at each side. The first altarpiece he was to bring home to his own land, as he did not then foresee, to put over his mother's grave. Hearing that his mother lay ill, he hurried home to Antwerp, arriving in the December of 1608 only to find her buried in St. Michael's Church. (The painting he set over his mother's grave was afterwards taken by the French to Grenoble.) It should be added that Rubens was now foul of the gambling Duke of Mantua, who was backward in his payments to his Court-painter. It was the sale of the Mantua collection that brought his great treasures to Charles I of England.

And let us remember that a man who was creating the greatest stir in Italy in Rubens's day, and one whom Rubens vastly admired, was Caravaggio—and Caravaggio's battle-cry was "Back to Nature." It bit deeper into Rubens's soul than critics think; and we shall find a new

Rubens when he begins to work at Antwerp. Caravaggio had a stupendous influence upon the Netherlands, as upon Spain. It was at Rubens's advice that the Duke of Mantua bought Caravaggio's *Apostles weeping over the Dead Virgin*, now at the Louvre. Of Rubens's Italian period also were the Louvre landscape of the *Palatine Hill*, as also the *Landscape with a Rainbow* at the Louvre may be—but looks later.

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Albert and Isabella, to keep the brilliant young painter at Antwerp, now made him their Court-painter on a fixed stipend—together with his friends, Otto Vaenius and Jan Brueghel. Rubens painted the Ducal Portraits.

RUBENS'S SECOND OR ANTWERP PERIOD 1609-1621

The armistice for twelve years, established in 1609, gave long-needed rest to the Netherlands.

Antwerp had now settled down to peaceful ways. Her Protestants had removed to Holland; and the Catholic orders took possession again of her churches and built them spacious convents. The outlook for a Catholic painter was a rosy one. Antwerp was now only liable to disturbances from the riots of the ill-paid Spanish soldiery. But the Dutch held the mouth of the Scheldt and could punish Antwerp through loss of trade; and it was in the Flemish desire to bring about peace that Rubens was to enter into the diplomacies and to receive such harsh disappointments as his otherwise prosperous career never knew. The old Flemish aristocracy had no love of the Spaniard, and looked with contempt at any subserviency to the Archduke and Isabella; indeed, Rubens found to his cost that to enter the charmed circle of the aristocracy was beyond his utmost

hope. Up to this time Rubens was frankly an Italian Eclectic, borrowing from the great Italian dead of Venice, if showing personal vision through his Eclecticism.

Rubens, now secure of a great position and career in the art of his age, on intimate terms with the great, felt confident of himself. At thirty-two, in the October of 1609, he married his first wife, Isabella Brant, a handsome girl of eighteen—her of whom he handsomely, if unchivalrously to her sex, said that "she lacked every one of the faults of her sex." Isabella Brant was the daughter of John Brant, a senator, and of Clara de Mon, whose sister had married Rubens's elder brother, the prig, Philip Rubens, who died about a year after Rubens's marriage, leaving Rubens the sole surviving member of a family of seven. Munich has a *Portrait of Philip Rubens*; and he appears again with *Rubens* himself in the *Lipsius Quartet* at the Pitti.

Isabella Brant we know well from the several portraits of her by Rubens—he painted her often, both in portrait confessed, and in Holy Families and in Bacchanalian groups —it was she whom Rubens painted seated beside himself, lover-like, in that superb *Portrait* at Munich known as "The Honeysuckle Bower," which is amongst the greatest works of his hands; and, in that portrait of himself and Isabella, Rubens shows that new and personal vision that had come to his art. The Uffizi holds a portrait of *Isabella Brant*, and the Hermitage another painted shortly before her death in 1626. The Honeysuckle Bower portrait is Rubens's first known portrait of himself. A little later is his *Portrait of Himself without a Hat*, at the Uffizi (1615).

Rubens now painted for the Guildhall of Antwerp the large and first *Adoration of the Magi*, which, however, the town presented soon after, in 1612, to Count Oliva, with

whom it went to Spain; and on whose death upon the scaffold it passed to Philip IV.

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In 1610 Rubens also painted his great *Elevation of the Cross*, to-day in Antwerp Cathedral, of which the Louvre has his superb drawing. It originally had the wings of the *Weeping Women* and the *Roman Centurion* (1612), an upper lunette of *God*, and a predella of three small pictures.

It was as pendant to this *Elevation* that Rubens painted two years later, in 1612, for the Rifle-corps Guild, his famous *Descent from the Cross*, also to be seen at Antwerp Cathedral. The wings contained the *Visitation* and the *Presentation in the Temple*, and their outer side *St. Christopher*. Munich has another *St. Christopher* by Rubens. St. Petersburg has a replica of the *Descent from the Cross* with considerable variations; indeed, there are six known variants—at Lille, at St. Omer, at Valenciennes, and two at Arras, largely the work of pupils.

Rubens was soon in great vogue; around him were gathering a horde of pupils and assistants; he had brought a large collection of art-treasures from Italy. He was living in the house of his wife's father; he had had to paint the *Elevation of the Cross* in the church. Early in 1611 he bought some land with buildings in the Place de Meir, and here he built a large house in the Roman style, to which he built and built until it became the show-place of Antwerp. Here he could house his works, and made a large workshop for his ever-increasing army of pupils and assistants. By the May of 1611 he was turning away pupils, not being able to find room even for his own and his wife's kin. This handsome home became a vast art manufactory; immense commissions came pouring in; and for twenty-five years there poured forth a stream of paintings. In that home of Rubens the Flemish Art came back to life.

Rubens was a born courtier; his outlook on life was the being in the fashion; his religion, and all he did, he took in the path that was most convenient to him. But he resisted the temptation to go to Brussels, fearing that his art industry might suffer from too much court life. And it is significant of his innate paganism, of which his art is the purest revelation, that he set over his house the pagan lines of Juvenal rather than the texts of his Church. The works that he poured forth were painted largely by assistants to his design; he working over them himself the final touches.

Now these years at Antwerp saw Rubens develop a marked style; and it is for this reason that every one with a sense of painting must incline to put into this Antwerp period several pictures such as the Cassel *Hercules Drunk*, of which Dresden has a large replica, the *Romulus and Remus* at the Capitol, and other pictures often given to his Italian days. Dresden, Vienna, Munich, Cassel, all hold elaborate paintings of an *Apotheosis* of some one or other, wherein some hero, victorious over Envy and Discord or the like, receives the Crown of Bays from the Goddess of Victory, of which type also is the Pitti *Mars tearing himself from the arms of Venus at the call of the Furies.* The Berlin *St. Sebastian* also is of this time; and the Dresden *St. Jerome*, and the *River God Tiber with the Goddess of Abundance* at the Hermitage, a very famous work, are all essentially of this Antwerp period; not of the Italian to which they are generally given—probably owing to their subjects.

To 1610 or 1611 probably belongs the richly Venetianesque *Holy Family with the Parrot.* By 1611 the rich, if much challenged, *Juno and Argus* was finished; the *Ixion deceived by Juno* (in America), and the Munich *Satyrs.*

No one who knows his work of this year can fail to

XVII

RUBENS

1577–1640

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS"

(ANTWERP CATHEDRAL)

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

catch the style of the man. And we may almost to a certainty place in the first two or three years of it, from 1609 to about 1612, the works that show the passage of his Italian to his Flemish manner; and thereafter place the works that he painted up to 1620, roughly speaking. Sacred and mythologic subjects that gave him chances of the nude, with now and again a portrait or a landscape, and always the deep interest in action, are his aim. Who can mistake his painting of the flesh, with its broad, smooth, enamel-like surface, its fluid glazings, delicate and warm, its clearly drawn outline, its blue veinings? His later free style is quite apart from this.

To go back to the *Elevation*, about this time he painted the solitary figure of Christ of the Antwerp *Crucifixion*, which he repeated several times—one at the Wallace, one at Munich, one at Malines. The Liechtenstein *St. Francis praying before the Crucifix* is also of about this year.

To Rubens was born in 1611 his first child, a girl; and thenceforth playful infants toddle on to his canvases, and gambol through his art, and take flight as Cupids across his design. An astounding colourist, gifted with a large sense of arrangement, painting with a Rabelaisian joy of life, seeing life with the rude health of the strong man destined for success, Rubens's violent art and his full-blooded manner of stating it drew a wide net round the human tragi-comedy, and into it he swept the limning of the little ones, and added their charm to his large enterprise. His joyous and restless art often enough painted men and women and children with coarse vision and bold, immodest hand; yet, at the same time, over all and through all is breathed a strangely paradoxical atmosphere of the grand manner, of courtly grace, and of sumptuous splendour as of the accent of palaces. Frank to brutality, his brush at least records

real children even though he force their clumsiness and miss something of their awkward grace.

The Louvre has his *Madonna with the Holy Innocents*; and the Hermitage his *Statue of Ceres* with infants.

Of prodigious industry, Rubens rose at five in the morning, went to Mass, except when the gout was upon him, and thence to work, being read to as he painted. A moderate liver, whether in eating or drinking, he worked until the light failed—his day's toil only broken by a short and simple meal; at the light's departing he got him astride one of his famous Spanish horses. The evening he gave to his friends, to hospitality, and to good-fellowship. To him, as to all men of culture of his day, the three books of the history of Greece, of Rome, and of the Gospels were ever open; and to mythology and the Bible he turned for inspiration, haunted always by the spirit of allegory. That which is a dead affectation in our day was the very breath of the body of the men of Rubens's years. But it was from Nature and the life of man that he drew his deepest inspiration.

Go he to Mass ever so regularly, gout or no gout, he never once achieved the spiritual religious picture, though he painted many sacred subjects. He was by instinct a pagan; and it was when he went to the earth that he came to greatness.

Moretus, the famous printer, was his friend; and for him he painted in 1612 the *Resurrection*, with saints and angels on the wings, to place over the Moretus tomb in the cathedral. Of about this time would be the challenged *Doubting Thomas*, and the Brussels *Woman taken in Adultery*, a poor affair; the *Return from Egypt*; the *Christ giving the Keys to Peter*; the *Drunkenness of Lot*, and the *Dismissal of Hagar*. Cassel has the well-known *Portrait of a Man*

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Unknown, painted between 1609 and 1610; but fine as is the handling of his craft, Rubens was rarely to come to supreme achievement as a portrait-painter. It was in his mythologic subjects, which he now began to pour forth, that he revealed his great gifts.

The art of Rubens was being widely scattered abroad by means of skilled engravers, by etchings and woodcuts.

Cassel has a fine *Jupiter and Calisto*, painted in 1613; and the *Flight into Egypt*, dated 1614, in which year Rubens painted the small *Pietà*, now at Vienna, of which Antwerp has the large replica, and the two *Susanna and the Elders* at Stockholm and Madrid. Of about 1615 is the Lille *St. Francis receiving the Infant Christ from the Virgin*; the *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata* at Cologne is of some years later, chiefly the work of pupils. The Louvre has an impressive *Christ on the Cross, with Mary, John, and the Magdalene*. Mythology inspired him to the *Venus Frigida* of 1614, to the Vienna *Abduction of Orithyia by Boreas*, the Berlin *Perseus and Andromeda*. The Hermitage *Venus and Adonis*, clearly founded on Titian, led to several pictures of this subject; the Munich *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippos by Castor and Pollux*, the *Diana* and the *Bacchus*, glorying in the woodland life and the boisterous doings of the gods. *Meleager and Atalanta* he repeatedly painted, Cassel being the fortunate possessor of the great presentation of the boar's head by Meleager to Diana; whilst Munich has the good fortune to own another fine *Meleager and Atalanta* with hounds, in a landscape; Dresden is rich in the superb *Gifts of Autumn*, or *Diana returning from the Chase*, and a poorer *Diana returning*, with full-length figures. Of religious subjects he painted the Munich *Samson and Delilah*.

A son was born to Rubens in 1614, called Albrecht, to

whom the Archduke stood godfather. The *Lady and Child* at Dresden are supposed to be Isabella Brant and her boy; whilst the well-known Liechtenstein *Head of a Girl* is Rubens's elder daughter. The *Madonna and Child surrounded by Cupids in a Wreath of Flowers* are Isabella Brant with the infant Albrecht.

Rubens, who had sharply refused to allow any Spaniard to touch his works at Madrid, showed in his own land a ready and generous willingness to paint works with other Flemish artists; and is known to have had the assistance of the animal-painter Snyders, though he himself was a masterly painter of animals. Dresden and Munich hold vigorous *Boar-hunting* scenes on which both men wrought their great art. Movement and action always appealed to Rubens; and with what power he could paint the rush and wild career of dogs and horses and other animals!

Munich has the *Lion-hunters*, painted in 1616 for the Duke of Bavaria, of which subject he wrought five large paintings—at Dresden, Richmond, and the Corsini.

In 1616 Rubens painted the *Last Judgment*, now at Munich; he had already painted two sketches, the *Resurrection of the Just* and the *Punishment of the Unjust*. Pupils worked much upon the *Last Judgment*, as well as upon the *Nativity* and *Descent of the Holy Ghost*, also at Munich. And to the same year belongs the altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi*, which Rubens himself greatly liked, with its wings of the lives of the *Two Saints John*, painted for and still at Malines. It was between 1615 and 1619 that he produced his series of so-called Apocalyptic paintings.

To 1617 belong the Prado portraits of the *Archduke* and *Archduchess Isabella*; the *Peter Pecquius* (the *Doctor Van Thulden* is of about 1620), the Rothschild *Peter van*

Hecke and his wife Clara Fourment, the *Charles de Cordes* and his wife *Jacqueline van Castre* (1617-18) at Brussels, and the *Studies of a Negro's Head.*

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

In 1618 Rubens painted his famous *Fruitfulness*, or *Infants with a Garland of Fruit*, now at Munich. Vienna has the *Infant Christ and St. John with the Lamb.* It was in this year of 1618 that the English Ambassador at the Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton, afterwards Earl of Dorchester, was in correspondence with Rubens for the exchange of Carleton's collection of antique marbles in return for works by Rubens. Rubens's list included the *Chained Prometheus*, eagle by Snyders, an early work now at Oldenburg; *Daniel in the Lions' Den*; *Leopards with Satyrs and Nymphs* (landscape by another master); *Leda with the Swan*; *Christ on the Cross* (which Rubens considered the best picture he had ever painted); *St. Peter with Fishermen taking the Tribute Money from the Fish's Mouth*; replica of the *Lion Hunt*; replica of *Christ and his Apostles*, painted for the Duke of Lerma; *Achilles disguised as a Woman* (now at the Prado), chiefly the work of Van Dyck; *St. Sebastian*, and a *Susanna.*

Antwerp possesses the *Le Christ sur la Paille* by Rubens, the centre painting being a *Pietà*, the dead Christ lying on straw, with the saints mourning—on one wing a *Virgin and Child*, on the other *St. John.* Brussels has an earlier work, the *Assumption of the Virgin.* To 1617 belongs the *Flagellation of Christ* in St. Paul's Church at Antwerp. But in 1618 he painted for Malines, in ten days, his altarpiece of the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, with one wing a *Finding of the Tribute Money*, and the other *Tobias dragging a Fish out of the Sea at the bidding of the Angel Raphael.* Brussels has *The Martyrdom of St. Lavinius*, as well as the *Christ, the Avenging Judge.*

When Carleton came to hanging some of the pictures

of Rubens he found them too large, and bought instead a number of carpets with figures, after the design of Rubens aided by Van Dyck—the original paintings for these six designs are in the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna, being the *Story of* (*Publius*) *Decius Mus*, from Livy, painted in reverse to assist the weaver; the swords, for instance, being in the left hand, and the like. It will be noticed that he largely repeated in *The Death of the Consul* the composition of his *Defeat of Sennacherib* at Munich, where also is the companion picture of the *Conversion of St. Paul.* Rubens's interest in the tumult of men and horses at this time is seen also in the wonderful Munich *Battle of the Amazons* for a bridge, perhaps the most famous of this series (1615).

In 1619 Rubens was at work upon his Antwerp altarpiece of *St. Francis receiving Extreme Unction*; and his *Mother of God enthroned as a Refuge for Sinners* at Cassel (with a replica at the Hermitage), in which we see Rubens being assisted by his pupil Van Dyck, and painting his second son, Nicholas, who had been born in the March of 1618, as the Infant Christ, proved by the drawing of the child's head at the Albertina. Berlin has also a drawing of this favourite child of Rubens in his second year. The Munich *Christ and the Four Penitents* is of about this time, as was the large *Hero Crowned by Victory* at Cassel, so greatly admired by Napoleon. The *Lot leaving Sodom* is a little earlier.

It cannot have escaped notice that Rubens had set up a Flemish, fair, full-bodied woman as his type of womanhood, her hair flowing loose. She appears again and again as Magdalene; she steps into every canvas at the first excuse. He had painted her in his early Antwerp years as *Venus*, with her back to us, gazing into a mirror, attended by a negress, in the famous painting in the Liechtenstein

collection at Vienna, in which gallery she appears again amongst the *Daughters of Cecrops discovering the child Erechthonios*, a masterly composition, a canvas in which Rubens painted one of his most beautiful figures of women in the person of the third daughter who stands back, obeying the goddess's order not to pry into the basket. This more refined female nude seems to have inspired the fine figure in the superb Hermitage *Neptune and Cybele*, and in the large and splendid Berlin *Neptune and Amphitrite*, where again the stout blonde enters. Vienna holds the *Four Continents as four River Gods with attendant Nymphs*, a fine work, in which Rubens's love of the river gods and nymphs is seen. The Louvre shows Rubens a master of still life in his *Philopoemen*.

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

In 1620 Rubens was at work on the Antwerp altarpiece of *Christ crucified between the two Thieves*, called the "Coup de lance," painted for his friend Nicolas Rockox. Portraits of *Rockox* and his *Wife* he painted on the wings of another altarpiece, of the *Conversion of St. Thomas* at Antwerp.

The Church of the Jesuits at Antwerp was finished in 1620, and to Rubens was given its complete decoration. Unfortunately the church was struck by lightning in 1718, and destroyed by the resulting fire. Drawings and copies remain of the thirty-six paintings of the ceiling. The three great altarpieces were saved, and are at Vienna—the two immense paintings, *St. Ignatius Loyola, the Founder of the Order*, and the *St. Francis Xavier preaching in India and bringing the dead to life*; and the *Assumption of the Virgin*, which Rubens considered the best. The Liechtenstein also possesses an *Assumption*, of which the *Sketch* is at Munich. On the high altar of Antwerp Cathedral is another, the most famous *Assumption*, ordered in 1619 and put up in

1626, on which he is said to have worked only sixteen days, but his pupils had also worked upon it.

In 1620 Rubens painted the famous great portrait for Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, of *The Earl and Countess of Arundel*, now at Munich, his most stately work in portraiture.

Rubens's great landscapes belong to his later art; but the Buckingham Palace *Dairy Farm at Laeken*, the Windsor *Summer* and *Winter* are partly by Rubens.

Rubens closes his bacchanalian series of these years with several versions of the *March of Silenus*—one at Munich, one at Berlin, and the latest at the National Gallery.

The armistice that had brought peace to the Netherlands ended in the April of 1621. Germany saw the religious war break out again. The Emperor and Catholics won the first battle, and the Victor of the White Mountain, *Count Boucquoy*, was painted by Rubens in a design, now at the Hermitage, intended for reproduction in etchings.

In the same April died Philip III of Spain. In the July died Archduke Albrecht. At Windsor is the great *Equestrian Portrait* of him by Rubens. Rubens had begun a series of portraits of the Archduke's ancestors for him.

The Netherlands thus passed again under closer survey of Spain. Friction set in. Isabella at Brussels saw that peace must be purchased at all costs. She found a willing aider in Rubens. Rubens was already a friend of the great commander, Spinola, by whom he was recommended to the widowed Isabella. By 1623 Rubens was in the Spanish pay, receiving a pension through Isabella from the Spanish treasury. But Rubens was to find that this unofficial diplomacy was to be so much spy-work, without honour, and liable to bring him into contempt. He at once saw the danger, and forthwith sought to become ennobled by the

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

King of Spain. In the January of 1624 Philip IV granted him nobility and a coat-of-arms. And from this time Rubens became a diplomat. In his many rebuffs and failures Isabella remained a staunch ally to him. But Rubens had to deal with two of the most crass and bungling sovereigns in Europe, Philip IV of Spain and Charles I of England. The peace was not to come until Rubens and Isabella were long in their graves.

The year 1621, then, saw the end of his peaceful "Antwerp period." He was now to go abroad over the world, as diplomat and artist, his foot ever in the stirrup. His great pupil, Van Dyck, who was already more partner than assistant to him, left him in this year. Rubens had a call from France which was to bring him to the painting of his great Marie de Medicis series.

Rubens was greatly rich. He yearned to do political work for his country. But he pitted his gifts against the greatest diplomat of his day; and he feared him, whilst Richelieu had open contempt in return. It was Richelieu's whole policy to prevent peace in the Netherlands.

Marie de Medicis, widow of Henry IV of France, had come back to Paris after her reconciliation with her son, Louis XIII, and in the new Luxembourg Palace she decided to decorate a vast gallery with paintings of her career, and the career of her husband, Henry IV. Her choice fell on Rubens. The Belgian Ambassador, *Baron von Wicq*, whose portrait Rubens painted (now at the Louvre), and the Abbé Claude Magis of St. Ambrose, for whom Rubens painted the Vienna *St. Ambrose refusing the Emperor Theodosius admission to the church of Milan*, acted as agents. Early in 1622 Rubens went to Paris, and there painted the famous Madrid *Portrait*. Three years, with his pupils, Rubens worked upon the twenty-one huge paintings of the

Medici Gallery, the queen often standing beside him and watching him work. The summer of 1625 saw them completed and set up amidst great enthusiasm, being greatly admired by the concourse of celebrities then in Paris for the marriage by proxy of Charles I of England with the sister of the French king. Rubens became the centre of a great triumph—the eyes of all Europe upon him. But he came near by his death at the marriage ceremony, his presence of mind alone saving him when the scaffolding collapsed on which he and others were standing. The works are now at the Louvre. Munich has Rubens's sketches for eighteen of them. The history of Henry IV was to be on a similar grand scale—but Rubens was destined never to paint them.

Whilst on this huge work, Rubens painted a number of portraits in connection with it, now scattered abroad. The Louvre has an *Anne of Austria*. He also painted whilst in Paris two portraits of the *Duke of Buckingham*, whom he there met, Buckingham being concerned with the marriage of Marie de Medicis' daughter Henriette with Charles I of England. But none of those painted portraits approach the fine *drawings* for them at the Albertina and the Louvre. It was in 1623 that he made his famous Windsor *Portrait of Himself* for Charles I, then Prince of Wales, of which the Uffizi has a fine replica. With Buckingham was Sir Balthazar Gerbier, about as unscrupulous a diplomat as Buckingham himself; and the three men were now deeply involved in intrigue. It was at this time that Buckingham bought for 100,000 florins the whole of Rubens's collection of works of art. A few short years only did Buckingham enjoy his purchase, his reckless devil-may-care life being violently brought to an end by the knife of Felton in 1628.

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Rubens was meanwhile painting other large works. He was still painting in his second or Antwerp manner the Darnley *Thomyris*; the *Decapitation of St. Catherine* for Lille; the *St. Roch interceding for the Plague-stricken.* To 1622 belongs the Brussels *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan*, the part with Vulcan being painted later, to take the place of the part that was sawn off and which is now at Dresden as the *Old Woman with the Brazier.* Of about this year also are the Brunswick *Judith and Holophernes* and the Munich *Samson and Delilah.* In 1612 he had painted a *Conversion of St. Bavon* (to-day at the National Gallery); he now in 1624 enlarged it for a great triple altarpiece for Ghent. The *Education of the Virgin*, at Antwerp, is of 1625; the eleven-year-old Helen Fourment, his future wife, appears therein.

Rubens's mother and brother lay buried in the Abbey of St. Michel, and for its high altar in 1625 he painted the huge Antwerp *Adoration of the Kings* in which, by the way, appears the stout Turk or Levantine whose full-length *Portrait* is at Cassel, really a Flemish merchant at Venice, who traded with the Levant. The huge picture is on panel. Of two or three years later is the Louvre *Adoration of the Kings.*

In 1626 he painted his most famous *Assumption of the Virgin* for the high altar of Antwerp Cathedral — the Liechtenstein *Assumption* was only painted shortly before his death, and we have seen others at Brussels, Vienna, and Düsseldorf. The large Berlin *Awakening of Lazarus* is of 1624, the Louvre *Departure of Lot from Sodom* is signed and dated 1625, the Antwerp *Marriage of St. Catherine* is of 1628.

The huge series for Marie de Medicis was scarce done when the Archduchess Isabella—who had gone into nun's apparel since the death of the Duke, as Rubens's Devonshire House *Portrait* shows—ordered the thirteen large

THE GREAT FLEMISH PAINTERS OF THE SIXTEEN-HUNDREDS

paintings for the tapestries which she gave to, and which still hang at, the Convent of the Descalzas Reales at Madrid —of which the subject and idea were the *Triumphs of the Eucharist* and its Defenders. Some perished by fire, some are in the Convent of Loeches near Madrid, two are at the Louvre, and four are at Grosvenor House.

Dresden has a small *Judgment of Paris*, designed by Rubens, an earlier version of the famous *Judgment of Paris* in the National Gallery; Vienna the *Cimon and Iphigenia* (1625), largely the work of Wildens and Snyders—Vienna has also the superb *Sleeping Angelica*; Madrid the *Three Nymphs with the Horn of Plenty*, in which Snyders wrought the fruit and birds; the Darnley *Thomyris and Cyrus* (1626), with its later Louvre variation (about 1630), were of these years.

Of several fine portraits of this time were the Liechtenstein *Albert and Nicholas*, his two sons, painted in 1626; the Brunswick portrait of the famous general, Rubens's friend *Spinola*, the hero of Breda, who appears in Velazquez's *Lances*; and the superb *Head of Spinola*, together with a *Spinola* at Prague and one at St. Petersburg. Some of Rubens's best *portraits of men* were now painted. But Rubens's supreme portrait of these years is the world-famous *Chapeau de Paille* (which is rather a Chapeau de Poil, felt) at the National Gallery.

Meanwhile, soon after the painting of the last of the large *Marie de Medicis* series, in 1625, Richelieu struck his great blow for power. His whole triumph depended on crushing Spain. Rubens's whole ambition was Spanish. Marie de Medicis had to bow to Richelieu. Still, Rubens was fired with the great designs for the *Life of Henry IV*, and had made a large number of designs for it when he was called to Madrid in 1628.

XVIII

RUBENS

1577-1640

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS"

(National Gallery)

The Trojan Shepherd, Paris, attended by Mercury, who holds the caduceus in his left hand and wears the petasus, has already decided to award the apple to Venus, who is placed between her rivals; behind her is Minerva, with her shield and owl; in the centre Juno, whose peacock pecks viciously at Paris. Discord, who threw the apple of discord into the midst of the assembly of the gods at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, to which she was not invited, is seen hovering in the sky.

Painted in oil on wood. 4 ft. 9 in. h. × 6 ft. 3 in. w. (1·448 × 1·905).

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

Buckingham, by the end of 1626, was drifting England into war with France. The Spanish feeling against England was very bitter; but Buckingham, seeing that war with France was inevitable, was ready to have peace with Spain.

The plague came to Antwerp in the summer of 1626, and Rubens was to suffer bitter loss—whether by plague or not, the ailing Isabella Brant died on the 20th of June. Happy in his marriage, a fond husband and an affectionate father; proud of his handsome home and of them that made his home the handsomer, Rubens, now on the eve of his fiftieth year, found that home desolate. Isabella Brant's eldest girl had died as a child. Rubens turned in the black desolation of his loss to the painting of that famous canvas of *The Painter's Two Sons*, now in the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna, and he wrought it with his own hand alone. At Dresden is a variant. Albrecht the elder lad's studious habits won him to the favour of the Spanish king, who gave him at sixteen a high appointment to the Privy Council, soon after this picture was painted. It probably added to Rubens's restlessness. He flung himself feverishly into political intrigue. Philip IV of Spain showed utter contempt of the employment of Rubens, a mere painter, in affairs of state; and resented the idea of his going to Madrid. But neither the Dutch nor shrewd old Richelieu were deceived by the employment of a "mere painter" to cover intrigue. Fortunately for England, the attack by France and Spain under Spinola was delayed, and the English were warned, largely through Rubens's revelations to Gerbier. Philip IV called for the correspondence between Gerbier and Rubens; and Isabella astutely said she would send it, if Rubens were to take it, as, much of it being in Flemish, he could decipher it. In the August, Rubens

started for Madrid. Spinola had returned in the early part of 1628 to try and restore peace. Olivarez was now in power. Rubens was to arrive at Madrid to find a great school of painting arisen. Velazquez was twenty-nine and Court-painter.

Rubens set out on his journey to Madrid with a considerable number of paintings, at least eight, of which the Prado has the *Achilles and the Daughters of Lycomedes* (or Achilles as a woman), largely the work of Van Dyck, and rejected by Carleton in 1618, and the *Ceres and Pan*, in which Wildens had a hand. These at least were saved from the great fire of 1734.

We know that Philip IV made much of Rubens; and that Rubens whilst at Madrid painted several *portraits* for the Archduchess. Unfortunately the great *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV* has vanished. The several half-lengths of *Philip IV* are scattered over Europe—the Munich *Philip IV* is probably the chief one. Of the several portraits of *Queen Elizabeth of France*, Munich also has the chief one, Vienna a replica. Of the *Cardinal Infant*, whom Rubens painted often in later years when, as Archduke Ferdinand, he came to Antwerp, Munich has also the chief portrait. The other royal portraits are lost. Rubens can now be judged as portrait-painter against Velazquez; and his weakness is revealed.

But the work that was to have an astounding effect on Rubens's art from henceforth was far different from all this. At fifty he went to school again. He painted Rubenesque copies of the great Venetian canvases at Madrid, above all, the works of Titian. Pachecho vows that Rubens copied every Titian—there were seventy! We know he copied the *Europa*, the *Adam and Eve* (both at the Prado), the *Venus and Adonis*, the two versions of the *Bath of Diana*,

and several portraits. This work was to create the third or great phase of Rubens's art of the years thereafter, when he rejects his enamel surfaces, his patches of vermilion or other reds, and his large spaces of amber-yellow robes, and employs a more fused use of colour, and shows greater coherence of the whole.

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

The winter of 1628-29 saw Rubens at Madrid. The English now began to hang back from the Peace. Philip IV seems to have wholly recovered from the shock of employing so vulgar a fellow as a painter in high affairs of state; and in the spring of 1629 he decided to send Rubens to London. Before going back to the Netherlands by Paris as a blind, he was made Secretary to the Privy Council of the Netherlands. In Brussels by the 13th of May, after an interview with Isabella, he made for Dunkirk and passed over to England, where he was lodged in the house of Gerbier.

During 1629-30 Rubens was in England. He finds an "incredible number of excellent pictures and statues" at the English Court. Here he painted his great allegory of the Blessings of Peace and the Horrors of War, in *Peace and War*—perhaps his mission to Charles dictated the subject—at the National Gallery, Rubens's earliest work in his new great manner. Windsor has one of the two so-called *Family of the Duke of Buckingham*, of which the Raglan picture was the great version. Dulwich has a *Venus and Cupid*. In all of these pictures, painted in the house of Rubens's friend Sir Balthazar Gerbier, the Gerbier family appear. At Althorp is a *Head of the Little Gerbier Girl* who appears in *Peace and War*. At Buckingham Palace is the landscape called *St. George*, for which figure sat Charles I, whilst the rescued Princess is the Queen.

Rubens designed, and made sketches for, the *Ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall*; but the decorations were painted in his Antwerp studio by pupils, touched up by Rubens, being sent to England in 1635. The work had been commissioned in 1621. These works, painted over and restored, by Kent amongst others, until all original work was lost, and nearly ruined by neglect, have been lately restored and the overpainting removed. The subject is the *Happy Reign and Apotheosis of James I.*

In England Rubens realised the bitternesses of amateur diplomacy. But he was made an M.A. of Cambridge; was feasted and made much of. Before leaving, the king knighted him for re-establishing complete harmony between England and Spain. He was glad to go. He detested the Puritanism of the people; as roundly detested the corruption of the nobility. He was disgusted with high politics, even though there was serious thought of making him the Spanish Resident in England, in spite of Count Onate's insolent opposition on the ground that "a man who is to represent the King of Spain ought not to live by the work of his own hands"; but Rubens intended to be done with the business. Unfortunately for his peace of mind he was to be lured back to it all.

Rubens, on his return to Antwerp from England in 1630, eagerly took up the great design for the *Life of Henry IV*, busily designing the twenty-four paintings. Six large canvases were partly painted, of which two alone are now known—the *Battle of Ivry* and the *Entry of Henry IV into Paris*.

It should not be forgotten that Sir Peter Paul Rubens did his royal master of England the great artistic service of securing for him the famous Raphael Cartoons.

By 1631 Marie de Medicis was a prisoner at Com-

pièngne, and Richelieu supreme in France. The great series of *Henry IV* vanished into dreams.

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

It was in 1631 that he painted the Arenberg *Portrait of Himself*, said to have been the study for *The Morning Walk*, which he was about to create.

On the 30th of the December of 1630 Rubens had married Helen Fourment, the youngest daughter of a wealthy silk-merchant, Daniel Fourment, in her seventeenth year. The girl was related by marriage with Rubens's first wife Isabella Brant—Helen's eldest brother having married Isabella Brant's sister. An elder sister of Helen's, *Susanna Fourment*, had sat to Rubens, and is seen in the famous painting of the *Chapeau de Paille*—the scandal that made her Rubens's mistress is a foul calumny. Susanna Fourment had married first Raimond del Monte, and afterwards became the wife of Arnold Lunden.

Twelve years earlier, Helen being four, Rubens had painted her eldest sister *Clara van Hecke* and her husband *Peter van Hecke*. Susanna Fourment it was, however, that he painted more often—there are seven portraits of her; born in 1599, she had married in 1617, and a second time in 1622. Whether *Chapeau de Paille* be a mistake for Chapeau de Poil, or whether the picture was called Chapeau d'Espagne, and the Flemish word Spaansch was converted into Spanen (straw), is an affair for the wrangles of pedants. The Louvre has a *Portrait of Susanna*—she appears in the great Louvre series—the Hermitage has a reputed portrait of her painted about 1630 with her daughter Catherine, but it is suspected to be Susanna Rubens, and by some is given to Van Dyck.

Helen Fourment appears in painting after painting by Rubens in the last ten years of his life.

Rubens had now flung politics out of the window; and

from henceforth he gave himself with all his power to the creation of masterpieces that set him beside the supreme artists of the world.

Munich has the full-length seated *Helen Fourment as Bride*, and a half-length *Helen Fourment*; St. Petersburg the full-length *Helen Fourment*, a fine work. Munich has the brilliant *Helen Fourment with her first-born son Frans*, the nude child on her knee wearing only a cap. The Louvre has an unfinished and marvellous *Helen Fourment* (now Helen Rubens) *and child Frans*. The famous Blenheim picture of Rubens and his wife walking together, with the little child learning to walk, is a superb rendering of this tender subject. Munich has the masterpiece of the *Morning Walk*, in which Rubens and his wife, with her stepson Nicolas, stroll in Rubens's garden.

Rubens also painted Helen nude except for a fur robe that hides little, called *Het Pelsken*, now at Vienna, in which he but followed the example of Titian. She appears in the Dresden *Bathsheba*; in the Munich *Susanna*; in the Berlin *Andromeda* (once at Blenheim); in the Prado *Andromeda*, which was painted in 1639, and being left unfinished at Rubens's death, was finished by Jordaens. She again is the shepherdess in the Munich panel of *Le Croc en Jambe*, an astounding work in sheer paint, in which Rubens's Rabelaisian healthy animalism is seen in an elderly man of high position and circumstance. Again she is in the *Sacrifice to Venus*, in which Rubens reveals his consummate power in painting the movement of the dance, as in his famous *Kermesse* at the Louvre, and the *Rondo* at the Prado.

In 1630 the Archduchess commissioned Rubens to paint a great altarpiece for the aristocratic brotherhood of St. Ildefonso. Vienna to-day possesses this great work. The centre is the *Miracle of St. Ildefonso*, the zealous

XIX

RUBENS

1577–1640

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"CHAPEAU DE PAILLE"

(Portrait of Susanne Fourment)

(National Gallery)

Susanne Fourment was the niece of the artist's first wife, Isabella Brant, and the sister of his second, Helena Fourment.

Painted in oil on wood. 2 ft. 6½ in. h. × 1 ft. 9 in. w. (0·77 × 0·53).

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defender of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; the right wing holds the Archduke and his patron saint. The outside of the two wings holds the *Madonna under the Apple Tree*, now made into a separate work. New York has the *Holy Family with St. Francis*; Cologne the *Virgin and Child with Goldfinch* (little Frans is the Infant); and the Prado the *Repose in Egypt*. Antwerp has the *St. Teresa praying for Souls in Purgatory* (1634); the Duke of Rutland the *Crowning of St. Catherine*; the Brera at Milan has Rubens's only painting of *The Last Supper* (1632); and of 1632 was his last painting of the *Adoration of the Kings*.

The early part of 1631 saw the Court at Brussels in consternation at the news of the escape from Compiègne of Marie de Medicis. Rubens was sent to receive the fugitive queen at the frontier; he was probably glad to be of service to her and her egregious son, Gaston d'Orléans, then at war with his brother the French king and with Richelieu.

Victory went to the Dutch in 1632, and the Archduchess had to summon the States-General and arrange peace. The aristocrats detested Rubens; and the chief of them, the Duke d'Aerschot, who suspected him of Spanish sympathies, and is said to have suspected him of being more than the tool of the Archduchess, grossly insulted him. The Flemish aristocracy, disgusted with the filling of all great offices of state by Spaniards, undoubtedly were intriguing with the Dutch; and Gerbier and Rubens knew of it. D'Aerschot's insult to Rubens was a deadly dangerous move. Rubens decided to be done with politics. Isabella accepted Rubens's resignation; but she wrote to the Spanish king to call d'Aerschot to Madrid on the excuse of giving personal details of affairs, and d'Aerschot, received in state, was promptly flung into prison, dying therein the same

year as Rubens passed away. Isabella died in the December of 1633. It should be added that Gerbier received 20,000 crowns for betraying d'Aerschot to Isabella; and the whole transaction besmirched the good name of Rubens.

RUBENS'S THIRD AND GREAT STEEN PERIOD

In 1635 Rubens bought his famous country-seat of the Castle of Steen—it appears in the *Tournament Landscape* at the Louvre, in the Wallace Collection *Landscape*, and in the great *Landscape* at the National Gallery. Here he lived the last five summers of his life, though now a prey to gout, the years in which he created his supreme achievement.

Meantime the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, brother to Philip IV, had come to take up the sovereignty of the Low Countries, and the gorgeous pageant of the "Joyous Entry" was arranged by Rubens. For several years victory was with Ferdinand, who appointed Rubens his Court-painter; and it was through Ferdinand that, for Philip IV, Rubens now poured out works for Spain.

Rubens had already painted the *Archduke Ferdinand* at Madrid as a cardinal. Mr. Pierpont Morgan has the portrait of him as a general in armour; Madrid has an *Equestrian Portrait* of him upon a black charger. Of the pictures painted or designed in honour of the joyous entry and other triumphal occasions were the Dresden *Ferdinand leaving Spain*; the Vienna *Meeting of the Two Ferdinands*; the Windsor *Battle of Nordlingen*; the huge Stockholm *Commerce deserting Antwerp*; the Vienna *Ferdinands*, the *Maximilian*, and the *Charles V*; the Brussels *Archdukes Albert*, *Isabella*, and *Ernest*; and the two *allegorical figures*

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

at Lille. The fine sketches for these are scattered over Europe. Baroque is over all.

At Vienna is the beautiful Watteauesque *Park Scene* in which a merry family party romp in the grounds of Rubens's new country home. The Prado has a charming *Garden of Love*, and Baron Edmond de Rothschild another—such, 'tis said, probably inspired Watteau to his "Fêtes Galantes."

Of about this time also is the Munich *Massacre of the Innocents*. Rubens seems for a time to have revelled in the horrors of martyrdom—the *Martyrdom of St. Lieven* is of 1635, now at Brussels, where also is the *Christ bearing the Cross* of 1636, the year of his *Beheading of St. Paul*, which was burnt; the Prague *Martyrdom of St. Thomas* is of 1637, and *St. Augustine on the Sea-shore*. At Madrid is the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew*, at Vienna a *Head of St. Andrew*, at Cologne a *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (1637), at Bordeaux the *St. Justus*.

At the Prado is a late *Pietà*, and at Madrid also is the sketchy *Supper at Emmaus*. Over Rubens's tomb at Antwerp is his *Madonna and Saints*, of which Sir Frederick Cook has a replica. At Berlin is a *St. Cecilia*, and at the National Gallery the *Brazen Serpent*; Madrid has the humorous *Rudolph of Hapsburg and the Priest*.

Some of his best portraits are of these years—*Charles the Bold* and *Maximilian*, two ancestral portraits now at Vienna; at Copenhagen is the *Matthaeus Yrsselius*; at The Hague Rubens's confessor, the *Monk Ophorius*; the *Frederic de Marselaer*; and, later still, the *Jan Brant*, Rubens's father-in-law at seventy-five, now at Munich.

During these last ten great years of his achievement, Rubens poured out works from his studio, many of which are little more than his in design, but others are of his supreme genius. About 1630 Rubens made the sketches

for his large series of the *History of Achilles* for tapestries—the full canvases are lost except the two at Pau; but Lord Barrymore and Berlin share the sketches.

In 1637 Rubens painted for the Grand Duke of Tuscany the Pitti *Horrors of War*, of which the National Gallery has the superb little version, as it has also the famous *Rape of the Sabine Women*, largely the work of Rubens. At Sans Souci are the little *Finding of Romulus and Remus* and the *Bathers*. Lord Edmond de Rothschild has the Blenheim *Abundance*, which Rubens "went over" when painted by his pupils. Of the erotic pictures, full of abandon, which Rubens wrought with such force in these his last years, are Lord Rosebery's *Loves of the Centaurs*, the long Prado *Nymphs of Diana pursued by Satyrs*, the Cassel *Diana surprised by Satyrs*, the magnificent Berlin *Diana and Satyrs*, the Richelieu *Diana and Actaeon*. And the National Gallery possesses the renowned *Judgment of Paris*, of which Dresden has a small panel of earlier date. The Prado *Judgment of Paris* of the same time is of quite different design. Dresden has the *Mercury and Argus*. The Hermitage has one of his latest works, the *Bacchus*.

In 1637, Rubens's ward, Anna, daughter of Jan Brueghel, was married to David Teniers the Younger.

Meanwhile the eager Philip of Spain was urging his brother Ferdinand to hustle Rubens to work at the paintings ordered by him; and the Archduke hustled the racked body of the man to increased endeavour like any modern business tout. Of the hundred and twelve works sent to Spain through France in the March of 1638, thirty-one are at the Prado to-day. It was impossible for Rubens to carry out in full as well as to design such a vast number of works as now poured from his workshop; but his hand dominates

the large pictures of the *Centaurs and the Lapithae*, the *Banquet of Tereus*, the *Orpheus and Eurydice*, the fine *Milky Way*, the *Mercury and Argus*, the *Rape of Proserpine*, the *Saturn* and the *Ganymede*; and the smaller *Flora*, the *Fortune*, and the *Mercury*. The *Judgment of Paris* ought to have gone, but was too large: it is interesting to find the Archduke writing that the Venus was Helen Fourment, the "most beautiful woman in the country," and objecting only to the nudeness of the goddesses, which Rubens flatly refused to alter. The picture is sadly repainted.

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

All through 1639 Ferdinand was hustling Rubens to fresh endeavour for Spain. But on this last group of pictures, sent to Spain after Rubens's death, Jordaens was largely engaged in the finishing, such as the *Hercules* and a very fine *Perseus and Andromeda*. But the triumphant painting of the Prado, the *Three Graces*, is wholly Rubens.

At Vienna is Rubens's *Portrait of Himself*, painted a few years before his death.

We have already seen Rubens as a great painter of landscape; during the last ten years of his supreme achievement he created several masterpieces in this realm.

The earlier Antwerp days gave us the superb *Landscape with a Rainbow* at the Louvre, with its pastoral lyric note; and in the Antwerp *Prodigal Son* and the fine Windsor *Winter* is the pure Flemish vision, concerned with the realism of life. In the *Summer* (at Windsor) he relapses. Here it is well to note that the wild guessing of "experts" as to the painters of Rubens's backgrounds may be taken with a considerable pinch of salt. The *Shipwreck of Aeneas* is a fine rendering of the convention of his day; but one of the supreme landscapes of these days painted by Rubens is *The Watering-Place* belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch. Vienna has the *Philemon and Baucis*, and the

Pitti holds the *Ulysses and Nausicaa*, both in the romantic manner.

The Wynn *Forest Scene*, the Brussels *Atalanta*, the St. Petersburg *Charrette Embourrée*, and the Northbrook *Woodland Road with Cart*, are of the transition to the work of the last phase; for it was in his last years, when lord of Steen, that Rubens created a few landscapes which place him amongst the great ones. The National Gallery *Autumn Sunset*, as Mr. Dillon calls it, and the *Autumn Landscape with the Château of Steen*, are of this series, as are the Wallace *Rainbow*, the Pitti *Return from the Fields*, and the exquisite Louvre *Landscape*, called by Mr. Dillon *Autumn Sunrise*. In the Brussels *Wooded Landscape with the Calydonian Boar* we have one of the most poetic landscapes of the age, painted with a sense of the woodlands that places it amongst the triumphs of art.

In 1639 the gout crippled Rubens; in April he could not sign his name. Yet in this very year he painted a series of large canvases. Of this year is the superb Blenheim picture of *Helen Rubens going to her Carriage followed by the boy Franz*.

But by the end of the April of 1640 Rubens was a dying man. He died on the 30th of May 1640. Three years thereafter his body was placed in the chapel behind the high altar of the church of St. Jacques.

Rubens left his large collection of drawings to that son or son-in-law who should become a painter. None did so. The elder, Albert, was made Secretary to the Privy Council. Nicolas, who romps through so many of Rubens's canvases as a sturdy child, died early. Sad to relate, both these sons of Isabella Brant harassed Rubens's widow, Helen Fourment, over the will of Rubens; for she had been a mother to them. She married again, becoming Countess of Bergeyk.

OF PAINTING

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

It is a grim fact of the folly of a brainless woman, that Helen Fourment, having sat to Rubens, at his death became prudish enough to affect being shocked at his nudes, and that she would have destroyed many—*but for the large prices that she was offered for them!* So strange a thing is piety!

An artist of the first rank in the achievement of the world; living in the atmosphere of Courts and versed in the conversation and arts of diplomacy; the personal friend of kings; moved whether in his art or other pursuits by an abounding and astounding energy; a faithful friend; a generous rival; a devoted husband; an affectionate father, Peter Paul Rubens made of his prodigious toil a lifelong pleasure. He stands forth from amongst the artists as a prince of painters. From his plumed hat to his beribboned shoes, from his elaborately laced collar to his as elaborately belaced and baggy breeches, handsomely cloaked and richly apparelled, he stands for splendour in art and the robust joy in and love of life. His eyes loved to look upon a woman as a fleshly thing, her golden or red hair strung with pearls, and a pearl bracelet upon the luminous flesh of her white arm—and the less of all else the better. If he set up a full and heavy ideal of woman, at least he was faithful to her. He was content with the work of the Creator, untrammelled by man's apologies for such works. His blood took fire at the shout and clangour of the hunt, at the roar and rage of battle—war was at his doors all his days; not a thing aloof as now. Yet he detested war and wrought all his life to baulk strife, and suffered bitter insults in the doing. Refinement and grace were not his art gods; yet are his most robust visions infused with a sense of something imperiously compelling the homage of refinement—without bowing his neck to prettiness—something regal there is, past all

defining. And what his mind's eye saw with such glowing forthright vision, and what his senses felt in such stirring fashion, his vigorous hand's skill set down in rich and sumptuous art. What grossness was in him was of the animal healthiness of the man and his race. He was a very Fleming; nor could all the temptation of the great dead of Italy, who beckoned to him from the grave, long overpower him, nor rid his native vision of its fire. Ambitious as he was, his sound common sense early revealed to him that the high burgess class of which he came would never be accepted on an equal footing by the old aristocracy; and he deliberately thrust aside all advice to make his second marriage in the class of the Court, and married instead in his own class one who would not despise him for working with his hands. "I am not a prince, but a man who lives by the labour of his own hands," wrote Rubens; but Carleton's courtly reply that he could not agree with him, and kissed his hand as the "Prince of Painters," was not without significance.

There was no great school of painters of the Europe of the after-years that did not owe tribute to vital, vivid, exuberant Peter Paul Rubens.

His pupils and fellow-workers make the most brilliant group of artists that ever emerged from one man's studio, unless we except only Giovanni Bellini—and the greatest of them all was Van Dyck.

No painter before him surpassed Rubens in the suggestion of movement and action into our senses. And let it never be forgotten that though the glamour of Italy was upon him, the ideal of Italy the jabber of his day, Rubens at last set temptation from him—and he was tempted as by the very devil—and with prodigious effort cleansed himself of the classical rankness and academic vision in which he had

steeped himself, and thereby saved the genius of his race. He put the classic aim of beauty from him—at once he became a genius. In that act he discovered the significance of art. Baroque he was—but baroque was the spirit of his age, not of a dead past. He painted life as he felt it, not as the classical told him it should be. He thereby became a Fleming. He had not the supreme northern gift of character in portraiture—his women are all alike, his men alike except in superficial details; but when he came to paint *action*, with what dramatic force he paints the bestiality of drunkenness, the movement of horses, the excitement of the hunt or the lust of battle! And because he showed the coarsenesses to be coarse, and the bestialities to be bestial, the pedants apologise for it! Apologise for the very thing that places him amongst the greatest masters of all time—his true sense of art!

WHEREIN THE ART OF FLANDERS BURSTS INTO FULL SONG

CHAPTER XVIII

WHEREIN IS HINT THAT THERE WERE GIANTS IN THOSE DAYS, NOT SO GREATLY SHORTER THAN THE GREATEST ONE

JORDAENS
1593 – 1678

THE GREAT FLEMISH PAINTERS OF THE SIXTEEN-HUNDREDS

Some sixteen years younger than Rubens, and at fourteen working as pupil at old Van Noort's studio, in which young Rubens had been trained, was an artist who was to marry Van Noort's daughter, his name Jacob Jordaens. Jordaens was never bitten with the craving for the Italian wonder; he remained by consequence a pure Fleming from first to last; and the day will come when Jordaens will be placed higher than he now is. Painting with Netherlandish realism, his art is sometimes boorish and even brutal, but it is astoundingly vital. As a painter he is the peer of Rubens. Jordaens loved a feast—and if he at times gives the consequence of over-drinking and eating with a frankness that touches indecency, at least he painted all he wrought with compelling power. He loved the jolly Flemings and their buxom wenches—and wine and the glass that held it, and fruit and meats, and the joy of life he wrought as no other man ever uttered these rude delights. Why he is set below Rubens it is difficult to see, except that he cared nothing for Courts. He is to the Flemish genius what Hals is to the Dutch. If he joyed in feasting, he liked a rousing song with his victuals. His

boisterous jollity is infectious. He could fling you the historic canons if you must have it, with all the bombast and allegory of the pompous age, as in his Hague *Triumph of Prince Frederick Henry*. The National Gallery has his *Baron Waha de Linter of Namur* as example of his portraiture—and the splendid swing of the thing shows the flowing touch that could rival Rubens. And with what vigour and style he could give you a *Family Group*, whether his own folk, as at Cassel or Munich, or others!

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Jordaens was a true son of Antwerp. He had met Rubens in old Noort's studio, and the friendship and art of the elder man had a marked effect on Jordaens's genius. His favourite motive was *As the old sing, so the young pipe*—and it made him a rollicking sequence. The Louvre has a religious picture, *The King Drinks*, or *The Twelfth Night Feast*, which was another favourite motive of the artist.

It should be remembered that there was also a HANS JORDAENS THE YOUNGER, the painter of the National Gallery *Interior of an Art Gallery*.

CORNELIS DE VOS
1585 – 1651

Working in Antwerp by the side of Rubens, and later an intimate friend of Van Dyck, was Cornelis de Vos, who slowly shed the style of the fifteen-hundreds from him and came to the gracious elegance of his later manner. As painter of the portrait, he was the inheritor of Pourbus and Antonio More; and more akin to them than to the Rubens of his own day. At Munich and Brussels may be seen the groups of his later portraiture. The Wallace has two portraits of *A Man* and *A Woman* in his earlier style,

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firm and sedate in handling, pure and harmonious in colour.

MARTIN PEPIN, born at Antwerp in 1575, and dying there in 1643, was of the school of Frans Floris. ABRAHAM JANSENS VAN NUYSSEN, born in Antwerp in 1567, and dying in 1632, though these dates are questioned, painted in the manner of Rubens. NICHOLAS DE LIEMAKERE, called ROOSE, born at Ghent in 1575, died thereat in 1646, was pupil to Otto Vaenius. GERARD ZEGERS, or SEGHERS, born at Antwerp in 1591, died thereat in 1651, went to Rome and thence to Madrid, painted somewhat in the manner of Rubens. THEODOR ROMBOUTS, born at Antwerp in 1597, died thereat in 1637.

GASPARD DE CRAEYER

1582 – 1669

GASPARD DE CRAEYER (born at Antwerp about 1582, died in 1669) came to considerable achievement. Pupil to Raphael van Coxis, he became Court-painter to the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand when the Spanish Prince came to rule over the Spanish Netherlands. He was a friend of Rubens and of Van Dyck—Rubens painted his portrait. In his later years he went to Ghent. His art was strongly influenced by Rubens and by Van Dyck.

JUSTUS SUSTERMANS

1597 – 1681

Born at Antwerp, and trained by Willem de Vos, Sustermans went in youth to Italy, where he took up his residence in Florence, where he died. Greatly in vogue with the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, he found a large practice

in Florence. He was the friend of both Rubens and Van Dyck. Painting with Flemish realism, he employed a free and colourful brush with considerable distinction; and he was influenced by Caravaggio and even by the Carracci.

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Working in the studio of Rubens were VAN DYCK (1599-1641), SNYDERS (1579-1657), TENIERS THE ELDER (1582-1649), DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER (1610-1690), GASPARD DE CRAEYER (1582-1669), GONZALES COQUES (1614-1684), Jan Wildens (1586-1653), George Jamesone, the "Scottish Van Dyck" (1587-1644), P. de Vos (1592-1678), L. van Uden (1595-1672), Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596-1675), Cornelius Schut (1597-1655), P. van Mol (1599-1650), Theodore van Thulden (1606-1676), Erasmus Quellin (1607-1678), Jan van den Hoecke (1611-1651), Francs Wouters (1612-1659), and Jan Thomas (1617-1673).

FRANS SNYDERS
1579 – 1657

Frans Snyders, born at Antwerp, and pupil to Hell Brueghel (Peter Brueghel the Younger) and afterwards to Hendrick van Balen, master of Van Dyck, was but two years younger than Rubens. They were both in Italy in the same year, and met at Rome. Living long and pouring forth works, Snyders is always best when working with Rubens. The handsome and kindly man created master-work in still life and in hunting-pieces. Castle Howard possesses Van Dyck's fine portrait of him. The old stories of the way he and Jan Brueghel (Velvet Brueghel) used to help each other when out at elbows make pleasant reading; and his portrait does not belie the lovable character of the man. It was the work of Snyders

that Rubens never allowed his brush to touch. He went his way regardless of the fashion for Rubens; and, as I suspect, Rubens owed more than a little to him;—in the swift movement of animals, the furious onslaught, the attacks of animal on animal, in the rush and turmoil of the fray, even Rubens's brush yields the glory to the noble-hearted Snyders. When his powerful brush limned still life and fruit, Snyders reached to superb achievement. And he passed on the flame of his genius to his pupil Jan Fyt.

JAN FYT
1609–1661

A fine colourist, Jan Fyt is famous for his paintings of animals and of still life—and as a painter of dogs is greatly renowned. He caught the qualities of fur and of the plumage of birds with rare skill. Born at Antwerp, he went to the studio of JAN VAN DER BERCH—entered the Guild of Painters in 1629, his nineteenth year, and later went to Italy. He holds with Snyders the supreme place in the Flemish achievement as an animal painter. He had a fine sense of lighting. He was particularly fond of painting dogs and hares. His style and handling are personal and original. Munich and Vienna are very rich in his works. Munich has his great *Bear-hunt* and his *Wild Boar-hunt*. His pupil David de Koninck, born in 1636, dying at Rome in 1699, was a fine painter, his Amsterdam *Bear-hunt* and *Stag-hunt* being his best-known works.

PAUL DE VOS
1592 – 1678

Of the genial, jovial features of Paul de Vos, Van Dyck has also left us a fine portrait. A hearty, happy man,

without ambition, Paul de Vos was content to remain an assistant to Rubens to the end of the business, painting at a daily wage his animal pictures—which generally pass under the name of Snyders—and coming to marvellous skill in the painting of dogs. His hunting-pieces somewhat lack action and "go," and his colour sense was dull. He married the daughter of Snyders. Paul de Vos outlived most of the great painters of his day. Berlin possesses the fine portrait by him of the two *Daughters of the Painter*. Paul de Vos was born at Aelst.

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JAN WILDENS
1586 – 1653

Born at Antwerp, where he was also to die, and trained by Peter Verhalt, Wildens, who all through his life was an intimate friend of Rubens, was perhaps the most closely concerned in work upon his great master's paintings. When attempting to create art on his own account he became a dull maker of hunting-pieces and landscapes. Dresden has a snow-scene by him, and Brussels some landscapes. He went to Italy for some years about 1613, but returned to Rubens's workshop. The low-toned passages of landscape in a broad Italian style, when they occur in Rubens's work, are given to Wildens.

LUCAS VAN UDEN
1595 – 1672-3

Born at Antwerp, Lucas van Uden was a fine landscape-painter in pure Flemish style and vision, rich in colour, and broken in design. He was fond of the green fields parted by dykes on the banks of which grow the pollard willows; and he inspired much of Rubens's later landscapes.

JORDAENS is said to have worked for Rubens; but it is challenged.

THE GREAT FLEMISH PAINTERS OF THE SIXTEEN-HUNDREDS

At Bruges wrought JACOB VAN OOST THE ELDER (1601-1671); and at Brussels PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAGNE (1602-1674) came to considerable fame in his day. Going to Paris at nineteen, he remained Flemish, though he lived his life in Paris. He was pupil to Jan Fouquier, the Netherlandish landscape-painter.

Liège brought forth GERARD DOUFFET or DUFFETT (1594-1660), who went to his schooling under Rubens for two years, thence to Italy, where he became Italianised; and BARTHOLET FLEMAEL (1614-1675), who was pupil to Gerard Douffet. GERARD DE LAIRESSE (1640-1711), pupil to his father, REGNIER DE LAIRESSE, formed himself on Flemael and Poussin. Going to Holland early in his career, he settled and died there.

ADRIAN VAN UTRECHT (born at Antwerp in 1599, died 1652-3) painted large kitchen-pieces with dead game, as well as animals, fruit and flowers, with astonishing richness of colour.

JACOB VAN ES or ESSEN, born at Antwerp in 1606, dying 1665-6, was chiefly famous for his paintings of fish, shell-fish, and the like, which he wrought marvellously well.

ALEXANDER ADRIANSSEN (born at Antwerp 1587, dying thereat in 1661) was also a well-known painter of fish.

SNAYERS
1593–1669

Peter Snayers was born at Antwerp, and became pupil to Sebastian Vrancs, joining the Antwerp Guild in 1512. He was made Court-painter to Archduke Albert, when he migrated to Brussels. At Vienna he is seen at his best. Battle-pieces and landscapes were his delight. Pupil to Snayers was VAN DER MEULEN.

XX

DE VOS

1592–1678

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"DAUGHTERS OF THE PAINTER"

(BERLIN)

Cornelis de Wael, born at Antwerp in 1594, was pupil to his father, Jan de Wael, and painted much the same type of subject as Snayers. Going to Genoa, he there settled, achieved his chief work, and died.

WHEREIN IS HINT THAT THERE WERE GIANTS IN THOSE DAYS, NOT SO GREATLY SHORTER THAN THE GREATEST ONE

Of the flower-painters was Daniel Segers or Zegers, known as Pater Segers; born in 1591, was pupil to Jan Brueghel, joined the Order of Jesuits at twenty-four, and died in the convent of the Jesuits in 1651. He it was who painted wreaths of flowers round sacred pictures by Rubens, Cornelis Schut, Diepenbeeck, and Erasmus Quellin. He had an enormous vogue, and his flowers have kept their colour in marvellous fashion.

Of the flower-painters (who mostly founded their art on that of Daniel Segers) were Jan Philip van Thielen, born at Malines in 1618, where he died in 1677; and Nicholas van Verendael, who worked in Antwerp from about 1656 to 1690.

TENIERS THE ELDER
1582 – 1649

Rather older than Jordaens was David Teniers the Elder (1582-1649), who left his native Antwerp to go on the Italian wander, and worked under Adam Elsheimer at Rome. He was given to pictures of country life in large landscapes, of which the National Gallery has the type in his *Rocky Landscape*. In the same gallery are *Conversation* and *Playing at Bowls*; they show his signature, a T within a D, which his son also used, but more rarely, preferring to sign his name instead. Dulwich Gallery is rich in his works, which were long confused with those of his son and pupil, David Teniers the Younger, who was to achieve a far greater art and name and fame; but to his father the Younger David owed the foundations of his greatness. Returning from

Italy to Antwerp in 1606, Teniers the Elder was already marked for distinction when Rubens was setting forth on his Italian wander. In the work of the Elder Teniers the landscape almost always is the significance. Heavier of hand and colour, the Elder David is brown where his great son weaves a silvery atmosphere throughout his master-work.

THE RYCKAERTS

Martin Ryckaert (1587-1631) was the son of David Ryckaert, known as David Ryckaert I, to distinguish him from three other kinsman painters of the name of David Ryckaert. Born at Antwerp, MARTIN RYCKAERT became pupil to Tobias Verhaecht, Rubens's first master and kinsman. Thence Martin went to Italy. He became the friend of Van Dyck, by whom there is a portrait of him. He came to some fame as a landscape-painter.

CORNELIS JANSSEN VAN CEULEN
1593 – 1664

Cornelis Janssen van Ceulen, born in London in 1593, would appear to have called himself "Johnson (or Jonson) of London." At any rate he was painter at the Court of James I from his twenty-fifth year, 1618, in which year he wrought the famous portrait of *John Milton at the Age of Ten.* When Van Dyck came to live in Blackfriars at the call of Charles I in 1632, Janssen van Ceulen was then lodging in Blackfriars, and the two artists became friends, Van Dyck painting Janssen's portrait. But the royal sun now only shone upon Van Dyck; and Janssen, finding his fame extinguished, retired to a Kentish village until the great war of the Cavaliers and Roundheads, bursting over the

land, sent Johnson of London a-packing to Holland, where he lived for the remainder of his days as Cornelis Janssen van Ceulen again. His portraits are widely distributed in England.

CORNELIS JANSSEN VAN CEULEN THE YOUNGER took up his father's mantle.

WHEREIN IS HINT THAT THERE WERE GIANTS IN THOSE DAYS, NOT SO GREATLY SHORTER THAN THE GREATEST ONE

CHAPTER XIX

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

ANTHONY VAN DYCK

1599 – 1641

THE GREAT FLEMISH PAINTERS OF THE SIXTEEN-HUNDREDS

FROM the studio of Rubens came one who was to thrust the achievement of portrait-painting far beyond his master's powers; and though Van Dyck never came to the command of action and movement and the utterance of the lusty joy in life of Rubens, his art was little concerned with it once he started on the free way of his own career; so that it were as profitable to compare their arts as to weigh the qualities of a radish against the song of a bullfinch. In the sole province in which they stood in rivalry, Van Dyck was immeasurably the greater artist; but Rubens walked in a mighty acreage on to which Van Dyck never set foot. Yet even whilst criticism condemns Van Dyck to second rank, it often quarrels as to what is by Rubens and what by Van Dyck!

Born at Antwerp to one Frans Van Dyck, a prosperous merchant thereat, on the 22nd of the March of 1599, his mother being Maria Cuypers or Kupers, Anthony was the seventh child of a family that was to grow to twelve—the birth of which twelfth child, in 1607, was to leave the small Anthony motherless. Several of the small Anthony's brothers and sisters entered the religious life. But Anthony in boyhood showed the artistic fibre that was in him, and by 1609, his tenth year, he was entered in the

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

Guild of St. Luke as pupil to HENDRIK VAN BALEN (1575-1622), where he had for fellow-pupil JUSTUS SUSTERMANS (1597-1681); thence in 1615 he stepped, a stripling of sixteen, into the studio of Rubens, then thirty-eight and in the full flush of his great career, with his beautiful wife Isabella Brant already six years mistress of his household. The year he went to Rubens the lad Van Dyck painted half-lengths of *Christ* and the *Twelve Apostles*, works of his sixteenth year, now scattered over the collections of Dresden, Althorp (Earl Spencer), the Louvre, the Hermitage, and Besançon. Sans Souci has a *Christ* and a *Mary*. Soon afterwards he painted a *Drunken Silenus*. The 11th of the February of 1618, his nineteenth year, saw Van Dyck admitted to the guild as a master; but for another couple of years he stayed with Rubens as his assistant, as indeed he had really been for some time. Rubens had set the lad, on his coming to him, to the copying of such works by the great Italians as he possessed. The Uffizi has an *Equestrian Portrait of Charles V* by Van Dyck, obviously copied from a work by Titian, and astoundingly well done. But the finest apprenticeship that Van Dyck early underwent was the enlargement and transference of Rubens's designs to canvas, and the painting thereon for Rubens to finish. Rubens gave Van Dyck ever-increasing scope, until towards 1620 it would be most rash to say whether many of the works of this time were by Rubens or by Van Dyck. The earliest known complete religious painting by Van Dyck is the *Christ bearing the Cross*, in the church of St. Paul at Antwerp, wrought about 1617.

VAN DYCK'S FIRST OR RUBENSESQUE MANNER

It is to the eternal credit of Rubens that his brilliant pupil, whilst still with him, was, at twenty-one, already

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famous. The *Portrait of Van Dyck in Youth*, of the year 1620, at Munich, shows Van Dyck's great promise in the realm of portraiture in which he was to come to such consummate achievement, of which the crown and summit is the *Portrait of Charles I* at the Louvre—one of the portraits of all time. At the National Portrait Gallery is a portrait by himself of *Van Dyck young*.

The most famous portrait of Van Dyck's early days is the National Gallery *Cornelius van der Geest*, an astounding achievement for a young fellow of twenty—it was painted in 1619. Small wonder that it was long given to the hand of Rubens: Van der Geest had been Rubens's friend from very early days. Of the early portraits are the two of *Jan Wildens*, the landscape-painter, at Cassel and at the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna, and the *Lady* at Cassel, in the Rubensesque manner. But it was, strangely enough, as the painter of large designs in the splendid manner of Rubens that Van Dyck came to early fame; and he was soon displaying a refinement, a sense of well-knit arrangement, and a reserve and restraint all his own. But the fact remains that neither Rubens nor Van Dyck could utter a religious work of art—they could *paint* it magnificently as paint, but the *art* of it, the spiritual significance, refused to enter their doors. Van Dyck's *St. Sebastian* at Munich, painted in 1620, is a fine painting of the nude—but as a religious significance it is wholly inarticulate. There is all the Italian Mannerist clap-trap of the sentimental—the upturned eyes and the whole bag of tricks—but its qualities are wholly pagan, it is the nude well seen and felt. Of the dramatic intensity of a man laying down his life for his faith, not a shred. But already Van Dyck shows his fine gift of arrangement. The Berlin *John the Baptist and John the Evangelist* (or the *Two Johns*)

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again is an affair of handling; the Berlin richly painted *Christ crowned with Thorns*, a variant, and the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*, both of which may be seen at the Prado in replicas on which Rubens also worked, show more dramatic power in the Rubensesque manner. The fact is, that Van Dyck was admired not in the measure of his difference from, but in his approach to, Rubens. Lord Methuen's *Christ taken Prisoner* has gone to America. Sir Frederick Cook has a superb sketch-painting for the *Christ taken Prisoner*.

Other pictures of these years were the marvellous Dresden *St. Jerome kneeling in Penance*, of which the Prado has the sketch; the Liechtenstein *St. Jerome in Prayer*; the Stockholm *St. Jerome*; Sir Frederick Cook's *Magdalene*; the Amsterdam *Magdalene*; the Vienna so-called *Magdalene*; a *Good Samaritan*; the Windsor *St. Martin* (there given to Rubens); Lord Wemyss's *Jupiter and Antiope*; Sir Frederick Cook's *Holy Family*; the St. Petersburg *David and Goliath*; the Brussels *Crucifixion of St. Peter*; the large Munich *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*; the Buckingham Palace *Christ healing the Sick*, besides the figures that Van Dyck painted into pictures by Snyders, Snayers, and others. Of portraits he painted many—some still pass as the work of Rubens.

The Blenheim *Christ and the Little Children*, really a portrait group; the *Family Portrait* of Sir Frederick Cook, given to Jordaens; the Buda-Pesth *Elderly Couple*; the Howard Castle and the Warwick Castle *Frans Snyders and his Wife*, the Brussels *Portrait of a Man* (there given to Rubens); the so-called Rubens *Portrait of P. Hecke and his Wife* in the G. von Rothschild Paris collection; the Holford so-called Rubens *Young Girl*; the Cassel *Woman with a Rose*; the Cassel *Snyders and his Wife*, and the Cassel *The Painter Wilden*; the New York (Metropolitan Museum)

Man with the Gloves (there given to Rubens); Sir George Donaldson's *Young Man of the De Charles Family* (1620); the large Hermitage *Young Couple with a Child*, wrongly called Snyders and his family, and *Young Lady with her Little Daughter*, supposed to be Helena Fourment and her girl, both given to Rubens; indeed, the famous Hermitage Rubens portrait of *Isabella Brant* is shrewdly suspected to be by Van Dyck.

It is perhaps interesting here to touch on certain differences in the way of working between Rubens and Van Dyck. Van Dyck preferred to paint his portraits on canvas—Rubens on wood. Van Dyck laid down an underground of grey—Rubens brown. Van Dyck in his flesh sees his light shadows as grey running to green, his deep shadows warm almost hot brown; Rubens sees his light shadows cool and blue, was fond of a very characteristic red in the flesh. Van Dyck preferred to make his feet long and his fingers long, tapering, and slender. Van Dyck painted thick and dryly; Rubens's paint is fluid, transparent, sometimes almost like glass. Rubens had a very conventional trick, which yielded wonderful luminosity to the flesh: he sets a red reflected light in the shadows of the fingers, ears, mouth, and the like. Van Dyck instead draws a black line.

But we must not forget that an enormous amount of the work upon Rubens's celebrated paintings up to 1620 was the work of Van Dyck. The series of *Decius Mus* are practically wholly the work of Van Dyck; the *Discovery of Achilles amongst the Daughters of Lycomedes* at the Prado is nearly wholly by Van Dyck, his "best pupil," as Rubens himself says; and so with many others of Rubens's works of these years—the *Raising of Lazarus*; the Berlin *Bacchanal*; the paintings for the Jesuit church at

Antwerp; the Cassel *Madonna with the Repentant Sinners*; the Munich *Lion Hunt*, in which the figures are by Van Dyck; the Munich *Samson taken Prisoner*; the Buda-Pesth *Mucius Scævola*; the Liechtenstein *Ajax and Cassandra*; the Vienna *St. Ambrose repelling Theodosius from the Door of the Church*; and the Nantes *Judas Maccabæus praying for the Dead*; the Antwerp and the Toulouse *Crucifixions*.

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

However, at twenty, Van Dyck was reaching to wide fame. James I lured him to England on a salary of a hundred pounds a year, and in England he was, in the summer of 1620. Gossip has it that, disgusted with being set by the English king to copy paintings of VAN SOMER, he fidgeted to be gone; at any rate, the 28th of February 1621 saw him granted leave of absence, the passport laying down that he should return to England in the autumn of that year; and Van Dyck broke his bond. Rubens urged him to the Italian journey; and Van Dyck, presenting his master with the impressive Madrid *Betrayal of Christ*, set his face towards Italy. On his way, at the village of Saventhem, he painted the *St. Martin dividing his Cloak with a Beggar* for the church thereat, at the request of Ferdinand Van Boischot, in the Rubensesque manner; though here we find Van Dyck revealing his grip of character, and giving us a well-bred youth in armour. Windsor has a *St. Martin dividing his Cloak*.

Tradition is at loggerheads as to Van Dyck's start upon his Italian journey. Gossip sets him at his father's death-bed; as his father died on the 1st of December 1622, this would make Van Dyck leave Antwerp in 1623, but he is also said to have been making for Italy in the autumn of 1621 (October). He made for Venice, the city of his dreams. In Venice Van Dyck pored over the masterpieces of the great colourists, especially the art of Titian;

and he now began to pose his figures in that picturesque and stately manner so characteristic of his art.

VAN DYCK'S SECOND OR GENOESE PHASE

Whether Van Dyck's resources failed him at Venice or not, he seems soon to have betaken himself off to Genoa to the lucrative business of painting the portraits of the notabilities there; but from out the confused tales of the time, he seems to have gone to Rome by way of Mantua first, for he painted *Duke Ferdinand of Mantua* at this time. At Rome in 1622 his full-length of *Cardinal Bentivoglio*, now at the Pitti, created a stir; and it was realised already that Van Dyck could catch the breeding and air of an aristocrat as none other had done before him. In the doing, Van Dyck revealed himself; a man to whom breeding and distinction appealed, a cultured personality of gentle and charming character, carrying himself with an air, wearing handsome apparel, and surrounding himself with a retinue that drew the sneer of the Flemish artists in Rome who affected the boorish ways of the tavern, Van Dyck was happiest with the great. At Rome he painted the equestrian portrait of *Prince Carlo Colonna* at the Colonna Palace, and other fine works that increased his repute. But by the autumn of 1623 he was making for Genoa again, and for some years he settled thereat, creating the famous series of portraits of its princely houses. Whether it were on his way to Genoa, or whilst at Genoa that he visited Turin, he painted in these years his portraits of the House of Savoy, of which is the stately equestrian *Prince Thomas of Carignan*, now at the palace in Turin, and several of which are charming portraits of children. In the summer of 1624 Duke Emanuel Philibert of Savoy,

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

Viceroy of Sicily, called him to Palermo, where Van Dyck painted the *Prince* and other members of the Court, besides beginning the altarpiece for the brotherhood of the Rosary there, which had to be abandoned owing to the coming of the plague which took the Viceroy himself. To Genoa Van Dyck returned about 1624, and there dwelt until his seven years of the Italian journey were at an end, painting.

These years are known as Van Dyck's Genoese period. At that city were to be seen a large number of his greatest works of this period. He adorned the marble palaces of the Brignole-Sale, the Durazzo, the Balbi and the Spinola families with stately portraits of their lords and ladies and little ones—of which are the great equestrian portrait of the *Marquis Antonio Giulio di Brignole-Sale* on a white horse, and the portrait of his marchioness, *Paolina Adorno.*

Of the works of Van Dyck's Genoese period, Cassel has the full-length *Italian Nobleman*; Munich has the half-length *Filippo Spinola*, the three-quarter-length *Marquis Mirabella*, and the bust of the blond young German artist, called the *Sculptor Georg Petel of Augsburg*, then at Genoa. The National Gallery has his *Marquis Giovanni Battista Cattaneo* and his *Marchioness Cattaneo.* Several have gone to America. Berlin has the great full-length of *A Genoese Merchant and his Wife*; Edinburgh the *Lomellini Family*, and the National Gallery the so-called *Portrait of an Artist*, speaking to another man and a negro. To the National Gallery in London Lord Lucas has lent nine full-length portraits by Van Dyck, of which is the fine canvas of the *Balbi Children.*

Of these Italian days the religious pictures do not take rank with the portraits; but the Borghese has a fine *Christ on the Cross*, and Turin a famous *Holy Family.* At

Chatsworth is Van Dyck's sketch-book of his Italian pilgrimage.

The year 1628 saw Van Dyck making his way back to Antwerp—though it must be said that the same confusion as dogs his doings in Italy dogs his leaving it, for he is also held to have reached Antwerp in the December of 1625 or the January of 1626—having reached Marseilles on the 4th of July 1625, and gone home by France, staying at Aix in Provence on the way; and to have painted for the Dominican nuns of Antwerp the altarpiece that his father had promised them of *Christ on the Cross between St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Siena*, now at Antwerp; but the evidence goes towards the proof that this work was painted in 1629. To 1626 is also given *The Crucifixion, with St. Francis of Assisi* added to the group at the foot of the Cross, now at Dendermonde. The Hague has the portrait of an English gentleman, signed and dated 1627, and of an English lady, signed and dated 1628.

VAN DYCK'S THIRD OR ANTWERP PHASE

At any rate by 1628 Van Dyck was back at Antwerp. He returned to Antwerp with his early promise as a great historical painter entirely gone, conquered by an eclectic Italianism. If he were to come to supreme position, his sole hope now was in the portrait. And it was to the portrait that destiny was to lead him, and in the doing to raise him to the heights. He then painted the important *St. Augustine in Ecstasy* at the Church of St. Augustine. In this same year of 1628 he joined the Jesuit Confraternity of the Unmarried, painting for its chapel two altarpieces, the *St. Rosalie* in 1629, and the *Blessed Hermann Joseph* in 1630, both now at Vienna. It was in 1630 that Van Dyck was called to The Hague to

XXI

VAN DYCK

1599 – 1641

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"THE BALBI CHILDREN"

(Lent by Lord Lucas to the National Gallery, London)

paint the Stadholder, *Frederick Henry of Nassau*, and his wife, *Amalia von Solms*, the portraits now at the Prado. *Amalia von Solms* appears again in a portrait at Vienna. She seems, like her lord, to have admired the art of Van Dyck, for her inventory holds eight works by him, and the Stadholder's palace of Loo held others—portraits, religious subjects, mythologies, and allegories. Van Dyck met Frans Hals whilst in Holland. There is an old gossip tale of Van Dyck going to Frans Hals to have his portrait painted; Hals did it in two hours; whereon Van Dyck, saying that this painting seemed an easy business, asked Hals to sit, and painted him in a still shorter time, revealing himself to Hals, who insisted on dragging him off to the nearest tavern. Van Dyck, at any rate, not only painted Hals, but several other Dutch artists.

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

To 1631 belongs the impressive *Elevation of the Cross*, painted for Roger Braye, which hangs in the Church of Our Lady at Courtrai, for which it was designed. In this, his so-called Second Antwerp Period, Van Dyck painted a large number of works which it is impossible to detail. His art now shows a marked Venetian feeling, and his facility was astounding, whilst his power increased. The religious works show him much concerned with the *Crucifixion* and the *Lamentation over the Christ* (or *Pietà*). The most famous *Lamentations* are those at Antwerp, at Munich, and at Berlin. Of the *Crucifixions* the two Belgian churches have famous altarpieces—the one at the Cathedral at Malines, and the much-restored one at the Church of St. Michael in Ghent—both have crowds below. Of the solitary *Crucifixions* is the Munich work. Of the *Madonna* pieces, in which charm is the dominant note, Munich possesses two well-known works, the *Virgin and Child, with St. John the Baptist*, and the *Repose on the Flight into Egypt*. The Louvre

has a *Virgin and Child with kneeling Donors*. The Louvre and Berlin hold examples of another favourite subject, *The Virgin as Refuge of Repentant Sinners*. Munich, rich in every phase of Van Dyck's genius, has a *Christ speaking to the Paralytic*, in which the influence of Titian is very marked, a *Susanna Bathing*, surprised by the Elders, and a second *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, affected, undramatic, but beautiful. Van Dyck, strangely enough, since he painted religious pictures for the beauty of the nude, rarely took his subjects from mythology. He had none of Rubens's pagan joy in life that sent his master eagerly to any motive that gave excuse for the utterance of his exuberant energy and the fragrance of the earth; Van Dyck flipped the leaves of the classics only to find excuse for painting beautiful nude women; he therefore never utters the "natural man"; his nudes are always fine models gracefully arranged. Yet he wrought in the famed Dresden *Danaë* one of the most beautiful nudes of his age. The Prado has his glowing *Diana and Endymion*. Like Rubens before him, Van Dyck several times painted Tasso's poem of *Rinaldo and Armida*, of which the Louvre possesses the supreme example. And he threw off an occasional light allegory, such as the Marlborough *Love clipping the wings of Time*.

Of Van Dyck's essays into Historical Painting, whether religious or Roman history, perhaps the best known are the Liechtenstein *Betrayal of Samson* and a *Continence of Scipio*, with rare excursions into modern history, such as the large Munich *Battle of St. Martin d'Église*, in which the Duc de Mayence is defeated by Henry IV, painted in conjunction with the battle-painter SNAYERS—Van Dyck's work being the portraits of the king and his attendants on horseback.

But it was as portrait-painter that Van Dyck was lord of his realm. His portraits of his Second Antwerp Period

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

are of his prime. Painting the portrait with fine insight into character, he set his figure in a dignified pose that gave stateliness to the head. He made a portrait a decorative picture. It was a deadly dangerous game that in the years to come was to create the most lifeless and affected school of portraiture it is possible to imagine, but Van Dyck employed his convention to superb ends, and never fell into banality. By consequence a portrait by Van Dyck makes a splendid decoration on a wall apart from its great portraiture. He was soon besieged by sitters. From the French Queen, *Marie de Médicis*, who visited him in Antwerp and sat to him in 1631, to the latest celebrity, all vied with each other to be immortalised by Van Dyck's brush. When we consider the vast number of portraits painted by Van Dyck by his thirty-third year (1632), his industry and his facility must have been astounding.

Germany is rich in the works of these years of his Second Flemish manner. Munich has a whole sequence of stately full-lengths—the famous portraits of the clean-shaven, portly *Duke Alexander of Croy* and the less successful portrait of his wife, *Geneviève d'Urfé*, a celebrated beauty in her day; the *Gentleman Unknown*; the portraits of the so-called *Burgomaster of Antwerp* and his *Wife*; the *Lady Unknown*; the *Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm* with his great hound (1629), he whose picture collection became the foundation of the famous Munich Gallery of to-day. Munich also possesses some of Van Dyck's masterly half-length portraits of artists—the double portrait of *Jan de Wael and his Wife*, rich and Venetian in handling; the portraits of the sculptor *Colyns de Nole* and his *Wife with her Little Daughter* —the *Pieter Snayers*, battle and landscape painter, done on a small scale; *Carel de Mallery*, the engraver; the posing

and affected but fine *Hendrik Liberti of Groningen*, organist to Antwerp Cathedral.

Cassel is rich in Van Dyck portraits—the great double portrait of *Frans Snyders and his Wife* (Van Dyck painted Snyders several times, and always well). It is difficult to realise in this pallid, gentle face the man whose powerful hand wrought the vigorous animal paintings that Rubens would never touch, the fine *Sebastian Leers with Wife and Little Son*, the full-length *Man Unknown* and *Lady Unknown.*

At the Liechtenstein in Vienna, rich in Van Dyck, is the famous half-length of the painter *Gasper de Crayer*, painted with compelling force, and remarkable for the astounding painting of the hand, one of Van Dyck's supreme portraits; the superb *Maria Luisa de Tassis*, a young lady of Antwerp, handsomely arrayed in the new elaborate French fashion, and the pretty Flemish *Young Lady Unknown.*

Dresden has the bust portraits of *An Old Man* and *An Old Lady.*

The Prado has his fine *David Rykaert*, the painter, and an *Unknown Musician.* The Wallace collection possesses his *Philippe le Roy* and his *Wife* (1628-1632), and the portrait of the *Wife of Paul de Vos*, the animal painter, brother of Van Dyck's personal friend, Cornelis de Vos.

Van Dyke now made a series of small paintings in grey from the originals or from sketches of the celebrities whom he had limned, which he designed for the engravers of Antwerp, to be published by Marten van der Enden as an "Iconography," on which Van Dyck laboured incessantly, adding new portraits until the famous work grew to eighty plates in his life-time, being further increased after his death to a hundred portraits and a title-page—fifteen etchings from Van Dyck's own hand being added. Later

XXII

VAN DYCK

1599 – 1641

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"PHILIPPE LE ROY, SEIGNEUR DE RAVEL"

(WALLACE COLLECTION)

editions brought the series of engraved portraits after Van Dyck to one hundred and ninety plates. Munich has about fifty and the Duke of Buccleuch thirty-nine of the portraits in grisaille by Van Dyck, of which a few were not "done from the life"—*Wallenstein*, *Gustavus Adolphus*, *Tilly*, and *Pappenheim*, heroes of the Thirty Years' War.

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

Van Dyck wrought little in etching, but his *Ecce Homo* is famous.

Van Dyck seems to have been in England, unnoticed by the Court, in 1630, for a flitting while.

The English king, Charles I, had seen Van Dyck's portrait of the painter-musician, *Nicholas Lanière*, besides having received Endymion Porter's gift of Van Dyck's *Rinaldo and Armida*; and during 1631 every effort was made to lure the artist to the English court. The negotiations were in the hands of Gerbier. Van Dyck was in Brussels in 1632, painting his famous equestrian portrait of *Francisco de Moncada, Marquis d'Aytona*, now at the Louvre—Van Dyck painted several other portraits of him. After much diplomacy, Gerbier was at last able to write from Brussels to the King on the 13th of the March of 1632: "Van Dyck is here, and sends word that he is resolved to go to England."

VAN DYCK'S ENGLISH PHASE

The early April of 1632 saw Van Dyck enter London town. He was at once taken into the service of the king, who provided a handsome style of living for the great painter; gave him a town-house at Blackfriars and a country-house at Eltham in Kent, and a solid regular income, the artist to be paid in addition for each painting; made him Principalle Paynter in Ordinary to their Majesties;

and within three months, on the 5th of the July of 1632, Charles I dubbed him knight as Sir Anthony Van Dyck, presenting him with a gold chain and his portrait set in diamonds.

The chief part of Van Dyck's duty as Court-painter was to paint the *King* and his *Queen, Henrietta Maria of France.* He painted them again and again. Dresden has the two great three-quarter-lengths; the National Gallery a famed *Equestrian Portrait of Charles I*; Buckingham Palace another work painted later; but it is to Paris that we must go to see the superb masterpiece of *Charles I,* standing before his horse, a stately, dignified work, wrought with the supreme art in colour and atmosphere of Van Dyck's genius, into which the artist seems to have spun the whole subtle fascination of the man and uttered the whole age as it appeared to the aristocratic class in England.

The Hermitage at St. Petersburg holds the *Philip, Fourth Lord Wharton, as a Shepherd,* in his nineteenth year, painted in 1632, the year of Van Dyck's large canvas of *Charles I with his Queen, Henrietta Maria, and their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary,* known as "The Great Piece" at Windsor.

Van Dyck painted a portrait in stately fashion. Every one is the fit lord of a great domain. His every work is a decoration for the wall of a mansion. He brought to the business a dignity that surpassed his master Rubens; and if he had not the searching eye of Holbein into character, nor the deep insight of Rembrandt, he stands amongst the mighty portrait-painters of all time. No man ever painted an aristocrat like Van Dyck. He caught the subtle thing called breeding. Like the army of a South American republic, all his men are captains. Van Dyck was soon at work upon that great series of masterpieces of his English

XXIII

VAN DYCK

1599 – 1641

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"KING CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND"

(Portrait de Charles I^ER, roi d'Angleterre, 1600-1649

(LOUVRE)

The Marquess of Hamilton, in attendance on the King, grasps the bridle of the charger; in the landscape background is a page.

Painted in oil on canvas. Signed on a stone in the right foreground: "CAROLUS I REX MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ. VAN DIICK F." 8 ft. 11½ in. × 7 ft. (2·72 × 2·12).

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

Period, marked by increased range in colour, distinction, and grace, which have made his name immortal, and have been chiefly responsible for the courtly and splendid tradition of the manners of the days of King Charles, setting on the canvas once and for all time the aristocratic air that we associate with the name of cavaliers—they who, with large plumed hat, lace collar and cuffs, slashed silken or satin doublet and knee-breeches, with handsome cloak flung over shoulder, and gloved graceful fingers on the hilt of the long sword that hangs on hip, will go down to the ages fragrant of the romance that Van Dyck conjured up and created and wove about them.

To the English king his Court-painter must have come as an ideal artist. A charming personality, he won into the close personal favour of Charles, who, to escape from boredom or the burden of the State, would take boat at Whitehall and get him to Blackfriars, to find in the bright and brilliant converse of his painter a congenial hour. The English nobility rushed to be in the fashion. Fortunately Van Dyck was as quick and facile as he was masterly in his art. The royal portraits it would be difficult to count. Of Strafford he painted at least nine. Strafford went to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant in this year of 1632; it was nine years before he was to lay his head on the block, deserted by his king. He painted the art-loving *Earl of Arundel* seven times. *Endymion Porter* Van Dyck painted with himself in the double portrait, now at the Prado, which also possesses a whole series of Van Dyck's portraits. The Uffizi has the well-known *Portrait of Van Dyck* by himself, in his favourite pose, looking over his shoulder. Another close friend of Van Dyck's, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, cousin to the Earl of Bristol, he painted in the work now at Windsor; whilst Sir Kenelm's wife, *Venetia, Lady Digby*,

he painted four times in one year—Windsor has the famous allegorical portrait of her. The allegorical portrait became a fashion. But he was soon to paint poor *Venetia* for the last time; she died on the May Day of 1633, and Van Dyck limned her dead, as though she slept, the fallen petals of a rose by her side.

Of his great works of 1633 is the stately double portrait of *George Digby, Second Earl of Bristol, and William Russell, First Duke of Bedford*, at Althorp, which he signed and dated —called "the King of Van Dycks." The equestrian portrait of the king at Windsor, *Charles I on a Grey Horse, attended by Monsieur St. Antoine*, his riding-master, is of this time.

The spring of 1634 saw Van Dyck in the Netherlands again, on leave of absence, and at Brussels and Antwerp he stayed for about a year. To his sister Susanna he had left the management of his property there, and into her keeping he confided his little natural daughter, Maria Theresa. The Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp made him president on the 18th of October.

At Brussels he worked hard as ever, painting *Gaston d'Orléans*, the rebel brother to Louis XIII, and his wife *Marguerite*, and her sister *Henriette de Lorraine*; *Prince Thomas of Savoy-Carignan*, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands until the Cardinal-Infant Don Ferdinand, brother to Philip IV of Spain, came—the *Prince of Carignan* Van Dyck painted indeed several times. The *Cardinal-Infant Don Ferdinand* was scarce arrived before Van Dyck was called to paint the portrait now at the Prado. The *Portrait-group of the Municipal Authorities of Brussels*, twenty-three figures, is of 1634. Of this time also was the *Justus van Meerstraeten* half-length at Cassel, which also possesses the portrait of Meerstraeten's *Wife*.

This later period—or English period, as it is called—of

XXIV

VAN DYCK

1599 – 1641

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"THE DUKE OF RICHMOND"

(Louvre)

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

Van Dyck's art is held to be marked by a cool tone, with black as the basis of the colour-schemes. It is difficult to associate this with much of such undisputed work. Munich has two pictures, a *Crucifixion* and a *Lamentation over the Christ*, of this time. And the *Nativity* of the Church of Our Lady at Dendermonde is said to be of 1634-35.

In 1635 Van Dyck was again in England, busy upon portraits of Charles I and the Royal Family. This was the period of his superb equestrian *Charles I* at the Louvre. Of equestrian portraits of the king he painted several: the Buckingham Palace *Equestrian Charles I*, which is the sketch for the great National Gallery *Equestrian Charles I* on a dun Flemish horse attended by Sir Thomas Morton (1636). Windsor has also the *Charles I in the Royal Robes*, as well as the *King, Queen, and their Sons*.

At Wilton is the huge portrait-group of *Philip Herbert, Fifth Earl of Pembroke, and his Family*, painted in 1635.

Of the king's children Van Dyck painted many charming groups. Turin has the beautiful colour-scheme of the *Three Eldest Children of Charles I* with a dog, painted in 1635: the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II, had been born in 1630; the Princess Mary in 1631, afterwards the wife of William of Orange, and mother of that William of Orange who was to become William III of England, and push Charles's second son James from the throne; and the Duke of York, afterwards James II, born in 1633. Dresden holds another *Three Children of Charles I* with two spaniels, painted a year later; and Windsor the *Five Children of Charles I*, painted later still, being of 1637, of which Berlin has a replica, the little Elizabeth and baby Anne being added in these two later canvases—that Elizabeth who was to die a young woman and a maid at Carisbrook, and little Anne who was to die in infancy.

Amsterdam has the fine portrait of *William II of Orange and his Bride.*

We know from the king's accounts in 1638 that he owed Van Dyck money for twelve portraits of the queen and five of the king. The number of portraits of the nobility and gentry of the realm is beyond all hope of complete listing, and the names would but make a catalogue.

The double portrait of *Thomas Killigrew and Thomas Carew* is of 1638, as is the double portrait of *Lord John and Lord Bernard Stewart.*

Certain canvases, such as the famous Prado half-length of the vivacious *Lady Diana Cecil, Countess of Oxford,* and the stately Windsor full-length of the *Beatrix de Cusance, Princesse de Cantecroix,* are the celebrated types of the large mass of these distinguished works, of which some three hundred at least are known throughout the land, hanging in the great country-houses for which they were painted.

It follows that Van Dyck had to employ a number of assistants—JEAN DE REYN of Dunkirk, DAVID BECK of Arnheim, and JAMES GANDY, who came to distinction, settling in Ireland and carrying on the Van Dyck tradition. These men worked largely upon the many replicas.

Van Dyck lived in princely fashion; often, at the end of his day's labour, asking his sitters to dine with him. His income was now very large, and he spent it with a lavish hand. The king, sitting to him on one occasion, got on to the state of his embarrassed exchequer with the art-loving Earl of Arundel, and, turning to Van Dyck, asked him slyly whether he knew what it was to be short of money. Said Van Dyck promptly: "Yes, sire; when a man keeps an open table for his friends and an open purse for his mistresses, he soon reaches the bottom of his money-chest." The king seems to have chided him for his open profligacy, and urged him to

marriage, choosing for the brilliant man one of the queen's maids of honour, the beautiful but penniless aristocrat, Mary Ruthven, the young daughter of Patrick Ruthven, son of the Earl of Gowrie who had lain at the Tower in James the First's day under suspicion of high treason and lost his estates thereby. Mary Ruthven, kin to some of the highest nobles in the land, and of the blood-royal of the Stuarts, was married to Van Dyck in 1639, and he brought her immortality in several works, of which the most famous is the Munich portrait of *Mary Ruthven* seated at a 'cello.

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

The life about the Court of the English king saw Van Dyck giving himself up to the dissipation of the brilliant men who took pleasure in his society. Always of delicate health, his frail body was soon undermined by excess. Courted, spoilt, made much of, greedy of gold and honours that he might take part in the wild extravagance of the age, hurrying from pleasure to pleasure, exhausted in body and mind, he worked like one possessed in order that he might live at fever pitch. His arrogance grew beyond all bounds. By consequence he was early treating his art as a mere workshop for the turning out of money—art became a manufactory. He employed a swarm of assistants—one painted backgrounds, another the draperies, another the landscape, another the hands, another this, that, and the other thing. It is true that he went over the whole and pulled it together. But a painting so done could scarce create the emotional significance required of a work of art.

Working with great rapidity, Van Dyck created a portrait in an astoundingly short time. Appointing the day and hour for his sitter, he worked for but one hour at a time on a portrait, arose, bowed, and made another appointment—whereon his man, having cleaned his brushes and palette, set a fresh palette for another sitter. He made

a sketch of the figure and costume on a grey paper with black and white chalks, arranging the pose and drapery therein—the assistants transferring it to the canvas. For the hands he employed hired models.

Van Dyck is thought to have shown decline of power from 1635; but the decline is largely due to the increased amount of the work that he left to his assistants. They not only were trained to put in the figures, on which Van Dyck put the finishing touches, but were soon putting out Van Dycks on their own account. He who would set the supreme portraits of Van Dyck's English period lower than the work of his Antwerp days, who would put in a second place his Louvre *Charles I*, the richest achievement of his colour faculty, has no sense of colour, of painting, or of art. Passion and action had always been outside the reach of his art; and he perhaps made the stately and aristocratic convention dominate character more wholly in these years. It was a whimsical part of his ambition that the Portrait, which brought him immortal fame, did not satisfy him; that he yearned for distinction in the grand historical masterpiece. He badgered the king to let him paint designs for tapestries to hang in the banqueting-hall at Whitehall, where Rubens had designed the ceilings; and he wrought some sketches and designs on the *History of the Order of the Garter* to that end, for the tapestry looms at Mortlake. But the black cloud was gathering for the king—1640 was to see the beginnings of the troubles that Charles was only to end upon the scaffold outside the window of this same Whitehall.

Hampton Court holds Van Dyck's *Cupid and Psyche* of 1640.

Rubens died in the May of 1640; and Van Dyck, baulked of his Whitehall historical paintings, at once made

for Flanders, trusting to get the works for Philip IV of Spain which Rubens's death left open. But his demands for price were now so high, and his bearing and manner to the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand so arrogant and aggressive, that Ferdinand broke off all relations with him. Returning to England, brooding and ill, he suddenly bethought him of Paris. Broken by ill-health, he left England with his young wife and a huge retinue in the September of 1640, and made for the French Court, hoping to secure the decoration of the great gallery at the Louvre with historical works of which Louis XIII was then dreaming, only to find that Nicolas Poussin had already received the order, who later had to resign it into the hands of the queen's favourite, Simon Vouet. Van Dyck, broken in health, disappointed, and ill at ease, fretted away close upon a year at Paris. The 10th of the November of 1641 saw him at last asking for a pass for himself and five servants, four maids, and his travelling carriage. Becoming daily worse, he began to long for his London home. So, a dying man, he set out for England, whither his wife had gone before him; only to arrive at his house in Blackfriars in time to be with Mary Ruthven when, on the 1st of December 1641, she gave birth to a daughter, his only lawful child. Van Dyck's state was now beyond all cure. On the 9th of December 1641 he passed beyond the reach of winning for the king's physician the reward of £300 that Charles had feverishly promised that worthy man if he could save his painter's life.

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

His grave is in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, where the great fire that overwhelmed the old church obliterated his tomb.

To Mary Ruthven and his Antwerp kin Van Dyck left a large fortune; and she, now fully dowered, married a Welsh baronet, Sir Richard Pryse of Gogerddan. Van Dyck's

THE GREAT FLEMISH PAINTERS OF THE SIXTEEN-HUNDREDS

daughter Justinia married Sir John Stepney of Prendergast; and for the monies that Charles the First owed her father, Charles the Second granted her a pension of £200 a year.

Van Dyck exercised a more profound influence on portrait-painting in the years that came after him than any other artist. On the art of England in particular his effect was most compelling. Of his pupils and assistants and such as were indebted to him were STONE and DOBSON.

WILLIAM DOBSON (1610-46), a fine artist, who has of late come into his own—his *Endymion Porter*, groom of the bedchamber to Charles I, is at the National Gallery. He died young, at twenty-six.

HENRY STONE made copies of Van Dyck, and later grew to fine achievement on his own account, as we shall one day realise. Many a "*Van Dyck*" in great houses was wrought by Stone. He died in 1653. He is generally known as "Old Stone."

DAVID BECK (1621-56), born at Arnheim.

MATHÆUS MERIAN THE YOUNGER (1621-87), by whom the National Gallery has a good portrait of *A Man*.

REMIGIUS VAN LEEMPUT, who died in 1675.

GEORGE JAMESONE, the "Scottish Van Dyck," so called.

JAMES GANDY (1619-89), who came to his full achievement in Ireland.

ROBERT WALKER, who came to fame under the Commonwealth.

ADRIAEN HANNEMAN (1601-1668-71), born at The Hague.

JAN VAN REYN (1610-78), born at Dunkirk.

But his influence carried far farther than his pupils and assistants. The great English school of portraiture in the seventeen-hundreds, as we shall see, was founded upon him. ALLAN RAMSAY and COTES arose to superb achievement.

WHEREIN THE FLEMISH GENIUS IS BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND

After DOBSON came Dutch SIR PETER LELY and KNELLER, and owed heavy tribute to Van Dyck. Of Lely and Kneller we shall see more in our survey of art in England. Lely's pupil, JOHN GREENHILL, a fine artist, shows much of Van Dyck's quality. Of GAINSBOROUGH's devotion to Van Dyck we have full witness in his dying words.

PETER VAN DER FAES, better known as SIR PETER LELY, born at Soest in 1618, died in London in 1680. Of him we shall have to see more when we come to art in England. Pupil to Greben of Haarlem, on going to England at Van Dyck's death in 1641, and finding no demand for his historical works, he closely followed the portraiture of Van Dyck, and was soon in favour at the Court of Charles I. He was employed by the Commonwealth, and at the Restoration became Court-painter to Charles II.

THOMAS WILLEBORTS, called BOSCHAERTS, born at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1614, died at Antwerp in 1654—pupil to Gerard Segers, he imitated Van Dyck. THEODOR BOEYERMANNS, born at Antwerp in 1620, and dying there in 1677-78, is a fine painter in Van Dyck's manner. PETER THYS, called TYPRUS (born at Antwerp in 1616, died thereat in 1677-79), founded his art on that of Van Dyck.

CHAPTER XX

WHEREIN WE SEE THE FLEMISH GENIUS FLAME IN SPLENDOUR THROUGHOUT THE GREAT CENTURY OF THE SIXTEEN-HUNDREDS

THE GREAT FLEMISH PAINTERS OF THE SIXTEEN HUNDREDS

THOUGH Rubens and his great pupil Van Dyck died within a year of each other, the Flemish art lived on awhile.

When Van Dyck, little more than a youth, came to the England of James I, on his first brief quest for the royal favour, the rival painters, MYTENS and JANSSENS, are said to have shown jealous hostility to the young fellow. Van Dyck's second arrival saw the older favourites thrust aside.

GONZALES COQUES

1614 – 1684

GONZALES COQUES, born at Antwerp, began as pupil to Peter Brueghel the Younger, then passed to the care of DAVID RYCKAERT (one of the four artists of that name), nephew to the one-armed painter MARTIN RYCKAERT. Whether he worked for Rubens or not, it was under the influence of Van Dyck that Gonzales Coques won to fame as the "Van Dyck in 18mo." The works of Gonzales Coques are somewhat rare; but the National Gallery and the Wallace hold fine examples of this "small Van Dyck," who painted on a delicate and small scale the Antwerp families of fashion in their drawing-rooms or parks, of which the National Gallery *Family Group* is so exquisite an example. The Wallace has an unusually large group by Coques—he had a habit of putting the family

"all of a row." Nor must the nicknames of "the little Van Dyck" or "pocket Van Dyck" be employed as disparagements—for Gonzales Coques in his small paintings employed a breadth of handling and a largeness of style that are most masterly, as all may see who look upon his five small portrait-panels of the *Five Senses* at the National Gallery—*Sight*, *Smell*, *Hearing*, *Touch*, and *Taste*—a favourite motive of the Netherlandish men.

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Pupil to Gonzales Coques was CORNELIS HUYSMANS, a fine colourist.

But the man who was to keep the splendour of the great Flemish years to the last was the son of Teniers the Elder, known to fame as

TENIERS THE YOUNGER

1610 – 1690

DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER stands side by side with the greatest artists of the Flemish genius; in many ways is above them all. His is the purest voice in all the great company. And, had he chosen to paint upon a vast canvas, the world would have acclaimed him a supreme genius. Pupil to his father, to that father he owed the base and structure of his astounding artistry. But the land was ablare with the noise of the name of Rubens; and the young fellow had keen eyes. Twenty-three years younger than Rubens, eleven years than Van Dyck, it was to the Dutchman, or Flemish-Dutchman, the scamp ADRIAN BROUWER, who settled down at Antwerp about the year that Teniers was reaching to manhood, that David Teniers the Younger owed as much as he ever owed to any man outside his father's workshop. It was Life, the life of his people, that inspired him. His keen eyes saw the silvery light that bathes his native land, and it is in this silvery vision that

his is akin to the Dutch utterance, with which he had so much in common. Coming early to an astounding facility and rapidity of handling, he poured forth works that are scattered over Europe—he himself jestingly said that it would need a gallery two leagues long to show his paintings. He was soon, like Rubens, a Court-painter to the ruling house, and in the house of the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands he moved amongst the greatest—the Archduke's picture-gallery comes into several of his works, the which has served more than once to establish the dates of pictures. Teniers married Rubens's ward, the daughter of Jan Brueghel, that "Velvet Brueghel" who was also much given to painting picture-galleries. Of the Younger Teniers's work it would require a long catalogue to give any idea; of the seven hundred known pictures by him—his "two leagues"—some one hundred and seventy are in England, of which the National Gallery and the Wallace are fortunate in possessing some twenty. In the National Gallery is the *Fête aux Chaudrons* (1643), in which we see his father's type of wide landscape with small figures, but bathed in the younger David's silvery atmosphere;—in front, with his richly arrayed family, his wife and little son, is Teniers, his wonted scarlet cloak about him. In the same gallery may be seen his range in the *River Scene*, to which he pays a debt to his father again—the landscape, Teniers's own stately pleasaunce at Perck with its château and moat, in both of which his old gardener is seen. It is easy to recognise the scarlet-cloaked Teniers, the ladies, and the boy grown older. In the gallery again is one of those wonderful tavern interiors, the *Players at Tric-trac*, or Back-gammon, so loved of the Dutch, than whom Teniers was more reticent, less dramatic—indeed, he ever surveys these tavern scenes with the distance of the lord of the manor,

XXV

TENIERS THE YOUNGER

1610 – 1690

LATE FLEMISH SCHOOL

"AN OLD WOMAN PEELING A PEAR"

(NATIONAL GALLERY)

ainted in oil on canvas. 1 ft. 7 in. h. × 2 ft. 2 in. w. (0·483 × 0·661).

never with the rollicking fellow-feeling of the boon-companion and fellow-reveller, so different from the art of Brouwer. The *Music Party* and the *Boors Regaling* are other tavern scenes at the National Gallery, where also is a fine *The Misers* (or Money-changers). In the well-known *Old Woman peeling a Pear* Teniers is seen in a brilliant harmony, handled with exquisite finish, that makes one stand a-wonder at the facility and rapidity that could produce his "two leagues"—the wonderfully painted still-life, pots and pans, the glittering brass cauldron, the bottle, which he again paints in the *Surprise*. And the same gallery possesses one of those nightmares which Teniers probably owed to Bosch or to Hell Brueghel, his kinsman by marriage, in his *Mauvaise Riche* or *Dives*, as well as four examples in his *Four Seasons* of those minute figure-subjects, often painted on copper. But it is perhaps to the Wallace that we must go in London to see Teniers at his greatest in such superb works as his tavern scenes known as *La Chemise Blanche*. Amongst the finest of the famous works by Teniers are, at Buckingham Palace, the *Teniers Family*, the superb *The Kitchen*; at The Hague the *Kitchen*; at Dulwich a *Castle with its Possessors*; at Vienna the *Fair*; at Brussels the *Flemish Fair*; at Dresden the *Portrait of Himself in a Tavern*, the *Great Village Fair*; at Berlin the *Portrait of Himself with his Family*, the *Backgammon-players*; at Amsterdam the *Guard* and the *Rural Scene*; at Munich the powerful *Peasant Playing the Fiddle*, the *Prodigal Son*, and the *Great Fair*; in Lord Northbrook's collection the *Peasants Drinking*, the *Pig-dealing*, the *Harvest*; at Cassel the *Entry of a High Personage into Brussels*; and at the Louvre the *Prodigal Son*.

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It was of Teniers's pictures, when shown to Louis XIV, that the Grand Monarque said, "Ôtez-moi ces magots-là!"

After the death of his first wife, Teniers married in 1656 Isabelle de Fren, daughter of the Secretary of State for Brabant.

With the death of Teniers the Younger the great Flemish art collapsed. His pupil, FRANÇOIS DUCHATEL (1675-94?), born at Brussels, lived but four years after him, and seems to have had little genius. Duchatel had been pupil also to VAN DER MEULEN. Another pupil was MATHYS VAN HELMONT, born at Brussels in 1653, died at Antwerp in 1719.

Of the followers or imitators of Teniers were his brother ABRAHAM TENIERS (1629-71); THOMAS APSHOVEN; DE HONDT; and ARNOLD VAN MAAS. Whilst strongly influenced by him were DAVID RYCKAERT, born at Antwerp 1612, died 1661-2; EGIDIUS VAN TILBORGH, born at Brussels 1625(?); and JOOST VAN CRAESBECKE, born at Brussels in 1608.

VAN DER MEULEN
1632 - 1690

ADAM or ANTON FRANS VAN DER MEULEN began with tavern scenes and the like, based more upon the Dutch grossnesses of these days; but he left Brussels and went to Paris to become attached to the Court of the French king, Louis XIV, for whom he took to painting the military life and hunting scenes of the grand manner in the theatrical style. He could handle a landscape and draw the winds of heaven across it in fine fashion; nor did the flitting of the shadows flung by sun and cloud escape him. His *Hunting Party* at the National Gallery has his signature and the date 1662. Van der Meulen was born at Brussels, and was the pupil of Peter Snayers. He caught the spirit of the age in excellent fashion. He is best studied at the Louvre,

and Munich is rich in his works, as are Buckingham Palace and Petworth.

ROBERT VAN HOECKE, born at Antwerp in 1609, is of Van der Meulen's type; he was pupil to his father, CARL VAN HOECKE, and came under the influence of Teniers the Younger.

Of the landscape-painters of distinction were LODEWYCK DE VADDER, active at the end of the fifteen-hundreds, who was influenced by Rubens; JACQUES D'ARTHOIS, born at Brussels in 1613, died about 1685, much influenced by Vadder.

CORNELIS HUYSMAN, born at Antwerp (1648-1727), pupil to d'Arthois; and JAN SIBERECHTS (1627-1703) were of these days.

PETER BREDAL, born at Antwerp 1630, dying in 1719, painted landscapes with figures; PETER BOUT, born at Brussels 1660, died about 1679; and ANTON FRANS BOUDEWYNS also painted landscapes with figures.

PETER VAN BLOEMEN, better known as STANDAART, born at Antwerp about 1649, and dying in 1720, having gone to Rome, caught the Italian vision of landscape, and a grip of arrangement in his paintings of men and animals, being fond of soldiers and horses. JAN MIEL, born by Antwerp in 1599, and dying at Turin in 1664, shows skill in the presentment of low life and in landscapes and sea-pieces. ANTON GROBAU, born at Antwerp in 1616, dying there in 1698, was of this time.

In portraiture are PETER MEERT, born at Brussels in 1618, dying thereat in 1669. WALLERANT VAILLANT, born at Lille in 1623, and dying in Amsterdam in 1677; he was also one of the first artists to employ mezzotint, then recently discovered by Prince Rupert; his pupils were his four younger brothers, of whom were JAMES VAILLANT, called

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Lewerik (the Lark), and BERNARD VAILLANT. PHILIP FRUYTIERS, born at Antwerp, where he died in 1666, worked chiefly in water-colours.

PETER BOEL, born at Antwerp 1622, died there 1702, is said to have been a pupil to Snyders, came to high repute as an animal-painter and as an etcher; his *Wild-Boar Hunt* is his masterpiece.

The sixteen-hundreds had seen the Flemish genius produce its painters of architectural interiors, though they never rivalled the Dutchmen in this province. The greatest of these were the Neeffs and the Steenwycks—fathers and sons. HENDRICK STEENWYCK THE YOUNGER (1580-1648), brought dogs and beggars into the motley throngs of his church-interiors; he it was who often painted-in the architectural backgrounds for the paintings of others—he came to England awhile in 1620, and so painted for Van Dyck —in Antwerp his hand wrought many an architecture for the portraits of Gonzales Coques. PETER NEEFFS THE ELDER (1577-1661 ?), though he lacked the great Dutch sense of light and shade, could paint a fine church-interior, peopled by strolling folk or by groups of men or women standing at gossip. F. NEEFFS THE YOUNGER (1606-1683).

Later came a group of Flemish landscape-painters who formed themselves upon the Poussins: ABRAHAM GENOELS THE YOUNGER, born at Antwerp in 1640, and dying in 1723, who went to France in 1659, and painted the landscapes to Lebrun's Battles of Alexander the Great. The year 1672 saw him enter the Painters' Guild at Antwerp. From 1674 to 1682 he was in Rome. He then came back to Antwerp. He also won to repute as an etcher.

JEAN FRANÇOIS MILLET, called FRANCISQUE, born at Antwerp in 1642, to a Frenchman and a Belgian mother,

died in Paris in 1680. His pupil, PETER RYSBRAEK, born at Antwerp in 1655, died in Brussels in 1729.

JAN FRANS VAN BLOEMEN, called ORIZONTE, born at Antwerp in 1662, died at Rome about 1748. He may be best seen at the Louvre.

Thenceforth the Decline rushed apace into collapse. Imitation destroyed creation and the personal vision.

Of the historical painters were BALTHASAR BESCHEY, born at Antwerp in 1708, died in 1776; and ANDRIES CORNELIS LENS, born at Antwerp in 1739, dying thereat in 1822.

The painters of the life of the day were better— BALTHASAR VAN DER BOSSCHE, born at Antwerp in 1681, dying in 1715; JAN JOSEPH HOREMANS, born at Antwerp in 1682, dying thereat in 1759; THIEBALD MICHAU, born at Tournai in 1676, dying at Antwerp in 1755; KAREL VAN FALENS, born at Antwerp in 1684, dying in Paris in 1733, who imitated Wouverman; JAN FRANS VAN BREDAEL, born at Antwerp in 1683, dying there in 1750, who also imitated Wouverman; KAREL BREYDEL, born at Antwerp about 1677, dying at Ghent about 1744; PETER SNYERS, born at Antwerp in 1681, dying in 1752; SIMON DENYS, born at Antwerp in 1755, died at Naples in 1813; and BALTHASAR PAUL OMMEGANCK, born at Antwerp in 1755, dying there in 1826, who came to considerable repute as a painter of cattle and of landscape.

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It is interesting to read criticism as by law established upon the art of the Flemings and Germans, since, even to the man in the street, it is clear from the beginning that the philosophic falsity about art being beauty, or this or that or anything else but art, must, if it is to come through the fantastic business, strain itself to bursting-point, or

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end in sheer casuistry and self-deceit if it would prove the aims of German or Flemish art to be beauty. The Dutch achievement, to which we are about to come, would further demolish the whole falsity.

One turns, then, with particular keenness, to see what Dr. Bode, one of the most famous of the "scientific experts," has to say upon Rubens and Van Dyck. The result is much as one had foreseen. Rubens "almost appears like a grand figure of antiquity." This strange conception of the significance of an artist presumes, first, that the figures of antiquity were greater and made of some godlike essence quite beyond the possibility of the modern man; and, secondly, that the artistic achievement of antiquity was greater than that of the modern! The quaint part of the whole thing is that this falsity is repeated and repeated by academic men until it seems almost a blasphemy to live in modern times. What exactly they mean by "antique" none of them precisely know. But the supreme significance of the fact remains that in so far as Rubens was antique, so exactly was he a downright bad artist; in so far as he was a Fleming, and spoke like a Fleming, and achieved the spirit of his race as a Fleming, by so much was he an astounding and compelling genius of the first rank. More than this: all that is great in Rubens is an absolute denial and abomination to that which is antique; all that is cheap and bad and inarticulate in Rubens is that which he wrought under the idea of being antique. If there be one great painter of modern times who is the very negative and utter opposite of the "grand figures of antiquity," it is Peter Paul Rubens.

And to pursue Dr. Bode's pronouncement further; in essaying to prove the lesser powers of Van Dyck—which are undeniable within limits—he says, without perceiving

it, the very thing that made Van Dyck the lesser genius; for it was in the measure of Van Dyck's lack of red blood and vigour to break down the antique laws and ideals that he came nearer to the antique and fell further from supreme power.

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In other words—and I say this without any desire to strike a single bay from the great and life-long service that the German professor has done to art research—the whole significance of the Flemish genius lies in its profound triumph in *uttering itself*, not in lisping a foreign tongue.

We shall find the Dutch genius thrust the genius of art still further, rid of all Rubens's limitations, rid of all Italian limitations, and sharing with Venice and Spain and the Tenebrosists the uttermost heights of genius in the realm of painting in so far as the art had been thrust by the time the last artists of these peoples laid down their brushes in death.

What criticism and philosophy seem incapable of understanding, is the unity and vast significance and vital necessity of art to every living human being; and the fact that modern art has thrust the utterance and realm of painting far beyond even the vision of Velazquez, of Rubens, of Rembrandt, and of Hals. But of these things we shall see more later.

THE END OF VOLUME IV.

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